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MOTYA

A PHŒNICIAN COLONY IN SICILY

1875



ENAMELLED ALABASTRON
FROM
MOTYA

1:1

FROM A DRAWING
BY THE AUTHOR

MOTYA

A PHŒNICIAN COLONY IN SICILY

BY

JOSEPH I. S. WHITAKER

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS
PLANS AND MAPS



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DEDICATED TO

CAV. GIUSEPPE LIPARI-CASCIO

MY FELLOW-WORKER AT MOTYA

J. I. S. W.

PREFACE

IN writing the following pages on Motya and the excavations that have recently been carried out there, my primary object has been to give archæologists and students of ancient history the benefit of the knowledge and information that it has been possible to acquire regarding a hitherto comparatively little known ancient site.

Although the exploration so far made has been confined almost entirely to the fortifications and outskirts, or fringe, of the old Phœnician city, and the greater part of the area which this town probably occupied still remains untouched, the work that has been accomplished has undoubtedly revealed much which was previously unknown to us, and has thrown light on several points hitherto more or less obscure.

On no other Phœnician site, perhaps, are so many ruins of an important fortified city still to be found standing *in situ* at the present day as at Motya. Once overcome and destroyed, as it was, by the elder Dionysius, Motya apparently ceased to exist as a town, and such of its ruins as were allowed to remain, first by its Greek conquerors, and later by the Carthaginians themselves when founding the new city of Lilybæum, were covered up by the protecting soil and débris, and have probably thus remained, untouched by the hand of man, until the present day. In this lies the great archæological interest and importance of the site.

San Pantaleo, as the island has been called for many years past, has been visited from time to time by archæologists and those

interested in ancient history, but its ruins have never before been systematically excavated.

The old name of Motya, which for so many centuries had lapsed into oblivion, is, however, gradually coming into use again, and the work which is now being carried out on the island has already had the effect of reviving in some measure an interest in the site of the once mighty stronghold of Punic power in Sicily.

The idea of excavating the buried remains of Motya first occurred to me some forty years or more ago, but it was not until many years later and after overcoming innumerable obstacles and difficulties that I became sole proprietor of the little island, and was finally enabled to give effect to the project that I had for so long cherished *in pectore*, and commence the work of exploration. During the first few years fair progress was made and much of interest was brought to light, but with the outbreak of the Great War work was arrested and has since been at an almost complete standstill.

The result, however, of the excavations which it has so far been possible to carry out at Motya may, on the whole, be considered as fairly satisfactory, and will, I trust, prove to be of some service to archæologists and to those interested in Phœnician history; while I further venture to hope that the account I have given of our work may also form a contribution not altogether without value to science in general.

For any errors and shortcomings of which I may have been guilty in this volume I must claim the indulgence of my readers.

In conclusion, to those who have in any way aided me in carrying out what I may truly say has been a labour of love to me, I beg to tender my warmest thanks. To Dr Thomas Ashby, Director of the British School in Rome, who has kindly read through the greater part of the MS., as well as to Professor Biagio Pace, of the University of Palermo, both of whom have given me the benefit of their valuable advice on many points and assisted me generally in my work, I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude.

My indefatigable fellow-worker at Motya throughout all these years has been the Cav. Giuseppe Lipari-Cascio, of Marsala, and to him, I may add, is in great part due the creation of the little archæological museum now existing on the island.

The late Professor A. Salinas, for many years Director of the National Museum in Palermo, who had always taken the keenest interest in Motya, assisted me in various ways at the outset of our exploration campaign, and until he was called to Messina after the great earthquake which devastated that town in 1908. His death occurred shortly afterwards. Professor E. Gabrici, who succeeded to the Directorship of the Palermo Museum, has also afforded me all the assistance in his power and facilitated recent work at Motya.

To another, now no more, the late Mr C. F. Gray of Marsala, I was indebted for much kind assistance in connection with the purchase of land at Motya, as well as in acquiring some interesting archæological objects from the site of Lilybæum and its neighbourhood.

Mr G. F. Hill, of the British Museum, has been most kind in assisting me in working out the coins, together with Dr Ashby and Professor van Buren, of the American Academy in Rome. Among other friends who have taken an interest in the work at Motya, and assisted me in connection with it, I must mention Mr Frank Hird and Professor Taramelli, Director of the Cagliari Archæological Museum.

Finally, I have to thank Messrs G. Bell & Sons, and specially Mr Edward Bell, for the care and attention bestowed on the publication of this volume, the printing of which has been carried out by Messrs Neill & Co. of Edinburgh in their customary excellent style.

JOSEPH I. S. WHITAKER.

PALERMO,
March 1921.

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THE
END OF
THE
WORLD

MAP OF THE STAGNONE DI MARSALA



MOTYA

A PHŒNICIAN COLONY IN SICILY

PART I

CHAPTER I

LACK OF HISTORICAL RECORDS OF MOTYA—PHŒNICIA AND THE PHŒNICIANS

OWING to the great dearth of historical records of the period when the Phœnician colonies in Sicily existed, and our consequent extremely limited knowledge regarding those early settlements, any attempt to write what may be called a history of Motya must necessarily be attended with considerable difficulty, and at the best, it is to be feared, can result in but a qualified success. Any continuous history of Motya is out of the question, for little more, indeed, can be done than to collect and piece together such fragmentary notices regarding the colony as have been handed down to us by the earlier historians, supplementing this meagre information by the knowledge we have been able to acquire by inference from the excavations which have recently been undertaken and are now being carried out on the site of the ancient city.

Before proceeding to speak of Motya itself, it may not be out of place, for the benefit of those not well versed in Phœnician history, to say something first of the remarkable people who founded this once important and prosperous colony, and of the mother-country from whence sailed the intrepid mariners and adventurous settlers who first visited the shores of the then little-known Sicily, at a date probably not less and possibly more than twenty-eight centuries ago.

This brief sketch of Phœnicia and the Phœnicians, together

with a short notice of Sicily and its earlier inhabitants, will, it is hoped, pave the way to a clearer understanding of what may be said later on, and help to render the story of Motya somewhat less incomplete than it would otherwise be; though, unfortunately, here again a lamentable lack of historical records confronts us, particularly of those left us by the Phœnicians themselves. We are thus obliged to depend on the scanty information contained in the few notices and inscriptions which have escaped destruction, and on the cursory and probably not always reliable accounts given us by the writers of other nations with whom the Phœnicians had dealings.

It may be here observed that the only Phœnician of whose writings fragments have come down to us is Philo of Byblus, who lived towards the end of the first century A.D., and wrote in Greek. He states, however, that what he relates in his so-called *Phœnician History* has been translated from the works of the earlier Phœnician writer Sanchoniathon, who was born, either at Tyre or at Berytus, a few years before the Trojan War, and wrote in his native language a history, in nine books, of the theology and antiquities of his own country and of the neighbouring states. As a writer Philo of Byblus does not rank high, either for the form or substance of his work; but a good deal of what he tells us, although fantastic and unreliable, is curious and, to a certain extent, instructive, the description he gives of the origin of the world being particularly remarkable for the novelty of its conception. As a history, however, Philo's work is not of much use; indeed, it is more mythological than historical.

Apart from what is told us in the Bible concerning Phœnicia and the Phœnicians, our chief source of information on the subject is Herodotus, the Father of History, and to him we are indebted for much of our knowledge regarding the country and its people. Some information is also to be obtained from extracts of the *Tyrian Annals* by Josephus, from Menander of Ephesus, as also from Justin's epitome of Trogus Pompeius; but with these exceptions little is to be learned from the early writers.

It may perhaps appear strange at first sight that a state which occupied the position which Phœnicia undoubtedly did at one time, with a people naturally shrewd and intelligent, and above all so

pre-eminently practical, should have left so few traces behind it. Apart from the lack of historical documentary records, there is unfortunately comparatively little in any way now remaining in the country once inhabited by the Phœnicians to bear testimony to their occupation of it for so many centuries. Admitting even the scarcity of Phœnician literature, and the fact of what there was having been restricted chiefly to commercial transactions and religious inscriptions or epigraphs, one might still have expected to meet with something more than we do, telling us of the people and its life-history. Later occupations and successive generations dwelling in the land have, however, swept away most of what the Phœnicians wrought during their time, and but few traces now remain of those who for so long a period ranked among the most important people of the day.

No ancient art heritage probably has suffered more at the hands of later generations than that of Phœnicia has done, and, as observed by Renan,¹ of all antiquities the Phœnician is that which has been most broken up and crumbled away. Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, and Mohammedans have each and all, in turn, contributed to the work of destruction by demolishing the ancient buildings and making use of their material for newer constructions. In some cases, perhaps, religious sentiment or superstition may in part have been to blame for this, Phœnician monuments having probably been looked upon as unworthy of being allowed to remain.

Of the importance at one time of Phœnicia, and specially as a maritime power, there can be no doubt, although one cannot help thinking that the country did not make the most of the position it then held. Small though it was in itself, Phœnicia seems never to have been a united country, with a solid basis, but was broken up into many separate townships, each independent of the others, and subject to constant changes, with a consequent detrimental result. Each city or settlement appears to have been expected to act for itself, and often, in times of need, was left to shift for itself as best it could. A total lack of unity and confederation seems to have prevailed, and this failing was not confined to

¹ Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 816.

the mother-country alone, but extended to most of her colonies as well. Under such circumstances, and with this lack of a proper hegemony, Phœnicia in its earlier stages, the old Phœnicia, as it may be called, seems never to have been able to consolidate its position thoroughly, or to take the place it might and should have done among the nations of the day. Although undoubtedly great from a commercial point of view, it never became a really powerful state politically, or maintained an army capable of holding its own against others, but was forced to yield to one power after another in succession.

To its offspring, the men of the New City, to the great Carthage which represented Phœnicia in the later stage, was it left to carry out what the older country had failed to do; and Carthage, adopting totally different methods and carrying all before her, worthily accomplished her mission and eventually became the greatest power of her day.

Carthage, though refraining from extending her territorial possessions around her own city, exercised supreme rule and authority, not only over her own settlements in other parts and those of the older Phœnicians, but also over alien peoples who had come under her influence, making use of them as might be required, or helping them in case of need. To the formerly independent colonies of the old Phœnicia, although but a sister-state, she wisely assumed the rôle of a mother-country, a part which the elder Phœnicia had never seen fit to adopt, except in name. Carthage in this respect, as well as in many others, followed a very different policy from that of the mother-country, and from the first, under her highly developed form of government, struck out a line of her own, which eventually raised her to the great and unique position she occupied in the history of the world.

The Phœnicians, though by some ethnologists held to have been of Hamitic origin and akin to the Egyptians, are by most authorities supposed to have been a Semitic race, closely allied to the Hebrews. Their language, indisputably Semitic in its character, as well as both their physical and moral characteristics, are strong arguments in support of this supposition.

The race appears to have originally inhabited the shores of the Persian Gulf, but at some early period, prior to the Trojan War, abandoning that country, it migrated by land westward, and eventually settled on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. Whether this migration took place in consequence of an earthquake, as stated by Justin, or whether it was due to differences and warfare with neighbouring people, or whether again it was simply out of a spirit of enterprise and love of adventure, it is difficult, not to say impossible, to tell. Be this as it may, it seems certain that the Phœnicians were not aboriginal in Syria; indeed, according to Herodotus,¹ they themselves stated that they had migrated from the Red Sea.

The date of their settlement on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean is obscure. Like the Egyptians, the Phœnicians themselves claimed a very remote antiquity, but this probably referred to a period of their existence anterior to their migration from further east. Herodotus, when visiting Tyre in the fifth century before Christ, was told by the priests of the temple of Hercules that two thousand three hundred years had elapsed since the foundation of that city.² If this were true, and as Tyre was not founded until some time after the arrival of the Phœnicians on the Mediterranean coast, it would take the date of their settlement back to about 2800 B.C. Little, however, is heard either of the people or their country until a much later date.

Between the seventeenth and the thirteenth century B.C. Phœnicia apparently, if not an actual dependency of Egypt, was intimately connected with that country, and continued to be so until the decline of Egyptian power about the middle of the thirteenth century B.C. During this early period of Phœnician history Sidon appears to have been the chief town, but now Tyre took the foremost place, and retained it until nearly the middle of the ninth century B.C. In the course of these four centuries Phœnicia, under the leadership of Tyre, attained a great position in the then known world and acquired considerable wealth and importance.

On the extension, however, of Assyria's conquests and her advance westward, in the ninth century B.C., Phœnicia deemed it

¹ Herod., vii. 89.

² Herod., ii. 44.

prudent to submit to this powerful state and became her tributary vassal; but somewhat later, in consequence of Assyria attempting to impose more grievous conditions on her dependencies, Phœnicia asserted herself, and for a short while resisted successfully, though finally becoming entirely subdued.

When Assyrian rule came to an end in the seventh century B.C., Phœnicia regained her independence, though only for a short time, for her country was soon afterwards overrun by both the Egyptians and the Babylonians. Against the latter, under Nebuchadnezzar, she resisted for a considerable time, while Tyre endured a siege lasting no less than thirteen years, though she was finally forced to surrender, and Phœnicia became a dependency of Babylon from 585 to 538 B.C.

On the Persians, under Cyrus, overcoming Babylon, Phœnicia again regained her independence for a short while, but in 527 B.C. she submitted to Cambyses and became part of the Persian Empire, though retaining her own rulers and government, together with other rights. For several years this state of things continued; the relations between Phœnicia and Persia being apparently friendly and harmonious, the former supporting her suzerain state and being of special service to Persia in her naval warfare.

About the middle of the fourth century B.C., however, Phœnicia broke away from Persia, and another period of strife and petty warfare ensued, lasting until 333 B.C., when Darius was defeated at Issus, and Macedonia, under Alexander, completely overcame Persia. On Alexander's advance in Syria, the greater part of Phœnicia at once submitted to him, Tyre alone resisting, and standing the memorable siege which forms perhaps the finest page in the whole Phœnician history. Forced, however, at last to succumb, Tyre was practically destroyed, and Phœnicia became absorbed into the Græco-Macedonian Empire.

Later on, coming under the rule of the Seleucidæ, Phœnicia as a country, although Tyre and other towns regained a certain importance, seems gradually to have lost her individuality and become more and more Greek. Finally, in 69 B.C. Phœnicia, together with the rest of Syria, came under Roman rule, and continued so apparently for the remainder of her history.

The territory occupied by the Phœnicians extended along the Mediterranean sea-coast from a little south of lat. 33° to a little north of lat. 35° , or, roughly speaking, the seaboard between Mount Carmel on the south and within a few miles of Laodicea on the north, its eastern boundaries being formed by the mountain ranges of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, with Bargylus and Casius further north.

The extreme length of this narrow tract of country was little more than two hundred miles, while its breadth varied from only a very few miles at its narrowest part to thirty or forty miles at its widest portion, the total area of the territory probably not exceeding 3500 square miles.

The country selected by the settlers for their new home, although comparatively insignificant in extent, appears to have been well chosen for various reasons. Its arable land, though not extensive, was remarkably fertile, and its vegetation rich and varied, while its climate and salubrity left nothing to be desired. In addition to these natural advantages, the country possessed two important physical features which rendered it eminently suited to a people like the Phœnicians, devoted to maritime commerce and averse from warfare. On the west its relatively extensive coast-line, indented with numerous small natural harbours and havens of refuge, offered all that they could desire for their trading purposes,¹ while its waters supplied an abundance of fish, and, above all, an abundance of the shell-fish so valuable to them for the dye it produced. Eastward, the lofty mountains, constituting the frontier of the territory on that side, afforded an admirable protective barrier and minimised the danger of invasion by land on the part of hostile forces. These mountain regions in themselves possessed an inestimable source of wealth in their vast forests of coniferous trees, while their lower slopes were rich in olive-groves and vineyards.

Although the Phœnicians do not seem to have been great agriculturists, a fact probably due to the limited extent of their territory adapted to cultivation, one may be sure that their industrious people will have made the most of such suitable land as

¹ Some of the best harbourages which formerly existed along this coast appear now to be choked up with sand.

they had, especially as its soil was said to be so fertile. Whether they produced sufficient corn and similar produce for their own requirements, however, is doubtful. One certainly hears of their receiving corn in large quantity from other countries.

Among the arboreal vegetation of the plains and lower ground the palm-tree, although perhaps not indigenous to the country, formed an important feature, and its Greek name *φοίνιξ* has, by some authorities, been supposed to have been the origin of the name Phœnicia. The words Punic and Punicus have the same origin, being derived from the Latin *pænus*, also meaning palm-tree. The etymology of the name Phœnicia, however, seems to be very uncertain, many authorities preferring to trace it to the word *φοινός*, or blood-red, with reference either to the colour of the celebrated dye, or to the swarthy complexion of the people of the country, while others again derive it from *Punt*, the name given by the Egyptians to the land peopled by the Arabians.

The Greeks called the country *Φοίνικη* and its people *Φοίνικες*. The name *Φοίνικη*, however, appears to have been originally applied by the Greeks somewhat vaguely to the entire region bounded by the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, though subsequently its application was restricted to the more central portion, or that occupied by the Phœnicians.

The Phœnicians called themselves Canaanites and their land Canaan. The name of Sidonians was also often applied to them as a synonym, and one finds it constantly used in reference to them both in the Old Testament and in Homer.

Favoured by her geographical position, with her relatively extensive seaboard, offering the most direct means of communication between countries further east and the Mediterranean, Phœnicia for a considerable period prospered greatly, and by the perseverance and industry of her people became a rich and important state.

Devoted to commerce and trading, and naturally of a roving and venturesome nature, her merchants travelled far and wide, extending their business relations, in course of time, to practically every part of the then known world.

Phœnicia's overland trade, although not to be compared with that by sea, must nevertheless have been considerable, reaching, as it apparently did, to most of the important countries further east and north, as well as to Egypt. Her maritime trade, as is well known, extended to almost every part of the Mediterranean and even to countries beyond that sea. Her interests on the sea, indeed, became so great that, although not warlike by nature or bent on conquest, she was nevertheless, in the later periods of her history, obliged to maintain a powerful fleet of war-vessels, and her naval supremacy in the Mediterranean for many years appears to have been uncontested.

In common with other Semitic races, the Phœnicians appear to have been most particular in their religious observances, although their religion, except perhaps in the earlier period, was of a most revolting and degrading character, human sacrifice and licentiousness entering largely into it.¹ Originally, if we may judge from what Philo of Byblus tells us, monotheism was the religion of the country, Baal being worshipped as the only god and "Lord of Heaven"; but even if such was the case, this simple cult can only have lasted for comparatively a very short period, and then degenerated into what eventually became a most complete religion of polytheism. Baal, however, appears to have been always regarded as the chief deity, and, together with Astarte, or Ashtoreth, to have been held in far more account than the numerous other deities worshipped by the Phœnicians, among whom may be mentioned Melkarth, Pataice, Dagon, Hadad, Sydyk, Eshmun, the Cabiri, and others. Baal seems originally to have been known by various other names, such as Baal-samin, El, Melek, Ram, Elion,

¹ According to Dr Davis (*Carthage and her Remains*, pp. 263-265), Phœnician Carthage was far less to blame in this respect than either the mother-country or the later Roman Carthage.

"The early Carthaginians," he says, "in the days of their greatness, were an industrious, abstemious, highly agricultural, commercial, sea-faring, and highly enterprising people. They had but little time for leisure and idleness; and it is a fact, too, well known, that in proportion as man is occupied, in the same proportion the taste for voluptuousness disappears."

The grave charges of vice and immorality, practised under the cloak of religion, which were brought forward by the Christian Fathers against the great African city had reference not to Phœnician but to Roman Carthage.

and Adonai; but as the primitive monotheistic cult became modified some of these names were afterwards applied to the newly created divinities, while new deities from other countries were admitted into the Phœnician pantheon. Chief among these, and particularly at Carthage, were the Egyptian Ammon, or Hammon, identified with Baal, and the Persian Anaïtis, Tanaïs, or Tannata, the latter, indeed, under the name of Tanit or Tanith, becoming what might be called the most popular female divinity. As such, this goddess appears often to have been identified with the Phœnician Ashtoreth, and no doubt there was considerable association between the two, although at Carthage, as shown by numerous inscriptions, they were undoubtedly regarded as distinct deities.

To account for the fact of a Persian divinity being held in such great repute at Carthage, a passage from Sallust (*Jug.*, 18) has been quoted in which it is stated, on the authority of the Numidian King Hiempsal, who wrote a history of his country, that on the death of Hercules and the disbandment of his forces in Africa, among them Medes, Persians, and Armenians, these people occupied and established themselves on the North African coast, introducing their religion and their deities.

As Baal was identified with the sun and called the Sun-God, so was Astarte associated with the moon and called the Moon-Goddess and the Queen of Heaven, each having its separate band of priests, although in some localities the two deities appear to have been worshipped collectively and in the same temple. The number of priests of both must have been very considerable, for we read in the Bible¹ of 450 ministering priests of Baal and 400 of Astarte being established in the Israelite capital by Jezebel, daughter of Eth-baal, king of Tyre and high-priest of Baal, on the occasion of her marriage with King Ahab. No court of modern days would dream of recruiting such an army of clergy! So popular, however, did this religion become that it was adopted generally not only in Israel, but also in Judah, when King Ahaziah espoused Athaliah, daughter of Omri;² and to its debasing and corrupting influence may be attributed in great part, if not entirely, the fall of both these kingdoms.

¹ 1 Kings xviii. 19.

² 2 Kings viii. 26.

Of the minor deities above mentioned, Melkarth, who was regarded as the tutelary god of Tyre, appears to have been identified by the Greeks with their Hercules. Herodotus writes ¹ that, wishing to obtain certain information regarding the worship of this god in Phœnicia, he sailed to Tyre, having heard that there was a temple there dedicated to Hercules, and found it "richly adorned with a great variety of offerings, and in it were two pillars, one of fine gold, the other of emerald stone, both shining exceedingly at night." Herodotus further says that at Tyre he saw another temple dedicated to Hercules, known as the Thasian, and going therefore to Thasos, he there found a temple of Hercules built by the Phœnicians, who had founded Thasos five generations before Hercules the son of Amphitryon appeared in Greece. From the researches he had made, and considering that Hercules was one of the ancient gods of the Egyptians, according to their own computation, seventeen thousand years before the reign of Amasis, Herodotus concludes that Hercules was a god of great antiquity, and that therefore the Greeks had acted most correctly in recognising two separate deities of this name, one the immortal or the Olympian Hercules, the other the hero.

Vulcan, whom the Phœnicians worshipped under the name of Pataice, was often represented as a pigmy and placed as a figure-head on the prows of their triremes. Dagon is generally supposed to have had the form of a fish, and was therefore looked upon as a fish-god, although Philo of Byblus calls him a corn-god, the discoverer of wheat and the inventor of the plough. In Philistia this deity apparently held a far higher place than it did in Phœnicia, and, according to Diodorus,² was known by the name of Derceto, being a goddess with the face of a woman, but a fish in all other parts of the body. Hadad was probably one of the deities introduced from the Syrians. Sydyk was the god of justice and the father of Eshmun, who, together with the Cabiri, gods of navigation and of metallurgy, was held in great account.

Pausanias speaks of a controversy he had with a Sidonian, who maintained that the Phœnicians had a more accurate knowledge of divine matters than the Greeks, and certainly there is no doubt

¹ Herod., ii. 44.

² Diod., ii. 1.

that religion entered largely into the lives of the former. This is clearly shown in many ways: thus their very names were, for the most part, derived from their deities; their kings often combined the office of high-priest with that of ruler; their sacred buildings were most numerous and lavishly kept up; their ships bore figure-heads representing their favourite deities; while in their actual worship nothing was omitted which could please and propitiate their gods—not even the lives of their children being spared on occasions when the extreme sacrifice was deemed necessary.

The Phœnicians have been called the pioneers of civilisation, and although according to our present-day ideas this may sound somewhat incongruous after what has just been said regarding their terrible practice of human sacrifice, yet, for the days in which they lived, their claim to be thus considered was perhaps not unjustified.

They were certainly among the most enlightened and progressive people of their time, endowed with remarkable talents as artisans and craftsmen; and, being naturally of an enterprising nature, they travelled far and wide, seeking to extend their relations with other nations by friendly trading and good-fellowship rather than by force of arms.

To the Phœnicians is apparently due the credit of the diffusion, if not the evolution, of a simple and practical alphabetic system, which, whatever may have been its derivation, seems to have been introduced into Greece from Phœnicia, and subsequently to have been adopted generally throughout the Western world. That this system was, in substance, derived from an older one used in some other country, or possibly evolved out of one or more signaries, is most probable; but what is undoubted is that the simplicity and practicality of its form were at once recognised and caused it to be universally adopted.¹

¹ Apparently there is no satisfactory evidence in favour of a local origin of the Phœnician letters, while the attempts which have been made to find a derivation for them, either from an Egyptian, Babylonian, or other source, have not, so far, been crowned with success. Meanwhile there is no doubt as to the art of writing having been known and practised at a period far anterior to the introduction of the Phœnician alphabet into Greece.

Sir Arthur Evans' discoveries of Cretan and Ægean script throw considerable

In addition to the alphabet, the Greeks appear also to have derived their weights and measures from the Phœnicians.

As navigators and shipbuilders the Phœnicians ranked foremost among the nations of ancient times, and their mariners, as shown by the voyages undertaken by them, were second to none both for skill as well as for hardihood and daring. Their feats of seaman-ship—greatest of all, no doubt, that of the circumnavigation of the African continent, which appears to have been accomplished by them in the seventh century B.C.—called forth the admiration of the whole sea-faring world, and caused Phœnicia to be looked upon as the chief maritime power of the day. Her sailors seem to have been the first to steer by the polar star, which, in consequence of this, came to be called by the Greeks the Phœnician Star. In addition to exporting their own industrial productions, such as

fresh light on this question, and as a result tend to show that the art of writing was known to the Cretans long before our first records of the Phœnician alphabet. Not only does an indigenous system of writing appear to have existed in Crete at a date far antecedent to the earliest monumental record of Semitic letters, but apparently two distinct phases seem to have been in use among the Cretans, one a conventionalised pictographic type, represented by seal-stones, the other a linear and quasi-alphabetic form of writing. Abundant evidence seems also to have been found of a still earlier usage of picture-signs, out of which these more advanced forms of script had been successively evolved.

The possibility which is now suggested of a Minoan derivation for the Phœnician letters, in view, as Sir Arthur says, of the preponderating influence of the Ægean civilisation on the coast of Canaan, and the actual settlement there of Cretan Philistines during the thirteenth century B.C., is well deserving of consideration. (Cf. Sir A. J. Evans, "Further Discoveries of Cretan and Ægean Script," *J.H.S.* (1898), vol. xvii. pp. 327 and 393; *ibid.*, *Scripta Minoa* (1909), pp. 10 and 77-94).

According to Diodorus (Diod., c. 74), the Cretans were those who imparted the first knowledge of letters to the Phœnicians.

Professor Petrie, who has recently dealt at length with this question, brings forward the view that the Phœnicio-Greek alphabet is only a selection from a much larger number of signs commonly used elsewhere. After reviewing the various evidence of the diffusion of the signary from which the alphabets were selected, he concludes that the first system of classification originated in North Syria. (Cf. Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie, *The Formation of the Alphabet*, Brit. Sch. Arch. Egypt, Studies Series, vol. iii. p. 17, 1912.)

Recent research in Mesopotamia, which has been carried out during and since the close of the war, has revealed much of interest in this connection, and among the archæological material which has been brought to light are several Sumerian tablets which have not yet been read. During the remote period of Babylonian civilisation known as the Sumerian, dating at least as far back as 7000 B.C., writing appears to have been in common use.

textile fabrics, all descriptions of metal vessels and ornaments, as well as glass and pottery, the Phœnicians had a very large carrying trade. Thus from Egypt and countries further east they conveyed to the various ports of the Mediterranean such goods as ivory, ebony, hides, feathers, and precious stones, besides agricultural products, bringing back in return all kinds of metals and precious ore, as well as many other articles.

As carriers supplying the chief means of transport and communication between the different countries of the Mediterranean and beyond it, the Phœnicians were bound to have a large and efficient fleet of trading vessels, and it was fortunate for them that they possessed what was practically an inexhaustible supply of timber in the fine cedar and pine forests of the Lebanon.

In shipbuilding they were probably unsurpassed by any other nation in the days in which they lived, and, to judge from what Xenophon writes,¹ the excellence of their ships in every way, and particularly their equipment and capabilities of stowage, were greatly praised by the Greeks.

Herodotus also, when writing of the great war between Greece and Persia, and speaking of the latter country's fleet,² says: "Persians, Medes, and Sacæ served as marines on board all the ships. Of these the Phœnicians furnished the best sailing ships, and of the Phœnicians the Sidonians."

A proof of the maritime importance of Phœnicia and of her naval resources at that time is afforded by the fact of her having been called upon by the Persians to contribute a contingent of warships far exceeding in number that of any of the other tributary states.³ At this period Phœnician shipbuilding was probably at its zenith, and the vessels she then constructed must have been of a very superior build, and very different from the primitive craft produced by her shipwrights of early days.

In the course of their navigation and travels by sea, and in search of the minerals and precious ore they required for their manufactures, the Phœnicians visited not only the islands and shores of the Archipelago and Eastern Mediterranean, but also the more distant countries of Italy, Spain, and France, extending

¹ Xen., *Æconom.*, viii. p. 11 *seqq.*

² Herod., vii. 96.

³ Herod., vii. 89.

their journeying even to the Atlantic and northwards as far as the Scilly Isles and Cornish coast, from whence they obtained supplies of tin and lead.

As miners the Phœnicians were particularly famous, and both Greeks and Romans appear to have adopted the methods and principles followed by them in the extraction and working of minerals. Herodotus, when speaking of the gold-mines of Thasos,¹ bears testimony, from personal observation, to the importance of their work.

In most branches of metallurgy the Phœnicians appear to have been past-masters, carrying on an extensive trade in all kinds of ornamental metal-work and in jewellery with most of the countries of the Mediterranean, as well as with those further east. It was, however, not only in jewellery and smaller ornamental metal-work that the Phœnicians excelled, if we are to judge from what we read of the work executed by them on a large, and even colossal scale, for King Solomon's great temple.² Unfortunately, none of this grand work is now in existence, but the examples of highly wrought metal bowls and other vessels, unquestionably of Phœnician workmanship, which have been met with in many ancient tombs in Italy and Cyprus afford evidence of their artistic talent and capabilities in this respect.

Of Phœnician coinage little need be said in this brief sketch. Each town and each colony of importance apparently had its own coins and its own devices during some period of its life, the coins themselves and the emblems they bore being, more or less, of a primitive character. Later on Greek art seems to have penetrated into this branch of craftsmanship, as it did into many others, Greek designs being generally adopted, while the coins themselves became less clumsy in size and shape.

In addition to metal-work in its various forms, Phœnician manufactures comprised three other branches of industrial art, which were of considerable importance and in which some of the Phœnician towns attained a high degree of excellence. These were glass-work, textile fabrics, and, last but not least, the production of dyes. Besides these, the manufacture of pottery of various

¹ Herod., vii. 89.

² 2 Chron. chaps. iii. and iv.

descriptions was probably common to several of the towns, though it may not, perhaps, have reached the artistic standard of that of some of the other countries of the day.

In the manufacture of glass vases and similar small vessels, as well as of beads and other glass ornaments, the Phœnicians, and especially the Sidonians, were particularly skilful. They are said to have discovered the manufacture of glass themselves, and by accident, which is quite possible; although, seeing that the art was apparently known long before to the Egyptians, it is equally possible that it was introduced into Phœnicia from Egypt, with which country, as is well known, the Phœnicians had much intercourse. Be this, however, as it may, the manufacture of glass seems to have been one of the chief industries of Sidon, this being probably due in great measure to the fact of the sand of the neighbouring shores being of a quality specially suited for glass-making.

The Sidonians appear also to have been the most skilful and proficient of all the Phœnicians in the manufacture of textile fabrics, and especially in embroidery, the artistic production of their looms being celebrated not only in Phœnicia itself, but in other countries as well. Allusion to the excellence of their work in this respect may be found in the *Iliad*, when Homer speaks of "the variegated robes, works of Sidonian women, which god-like Paris himself brought from Sidon, sailing over the wide sea, along the course by which he conveyed high-born Helen." ¹

Closely connected with the weaving and textile industry were the manufacture of dyes and the dyeing of stuffs. The renowned purple dye, or Tyrian purple, as it was called, said to have been discovered by the Phœnicians accidentally, as in the case of glass, was apparently obtained chiefly from two species of shell-fish, the *Murex trunculus* and the *Murex brandaris*, both of which are found in certain abundance in various parts of the Mediterranean, and particularly on the Syrian coast. The two industries of weaving and dyeing going hand in hand, as they did, caused the double trade to become a most important one, apparently, and it probably spread throughout all the countries with which Phœnicia had commercial relations.

¹ Homer, *Iliad*, vi. 289.

Little is known, comparatively, of Phœnician architecture, owing to the great lack of remains of ancient buildings found in the country, one of the principal reasons for this, apart from that mentioned in the earlier part of this chapter, being possibly the fact that wood may have been employed to a great extent by the Phœnicians in most of their constructions other than fortifications, stone being used exclusively only for the foundations and lower parts of the buildings. Naturally, the wooden top-structures, less durable than stone, will not have lasted long, and in course of time will have disappeared entirely, leaving only the substructures, which, broken up, will no doubt have served as building material for future generations. Unfortunately, few vestiges comparatively of any important constructions remain to us at the present day, but, judging from those that have been found, we gather that the bases of such buildings were usually formed of massive and sometimes roughly hewn blocks, laid horizontally, in strata; one on the other, and without any cement. Some of the blocks met with are of colossal dimensions, those, for example, of the substructure of the Temple of Jerusalem measuring, in some cases, as much as 39 feet in length and 7 feet in depth. In some instances the stones were smoothed and carefully bevelled at the edges, but they were often very roughly cut, and occasionally left almost in their natural state. The so-called temples or places of worship in Phœnicia, in the days when the religious services were held in the open air, appear to have been very simple structures, a small shrine, open on one side, and placed on a block of living rock, sufficing for the purpose required. In some cases apparently the quadrangle merely contained a cippus or cone in its centre.

The walls of fortified towns were also most solidly built of massive blocks of stone, in the same way as the substructures of the temples and other monumental constructions, though as a rule they were less carefully finished.

Among the few remains of such Phœnician walls may be mentioned those of Aradus, of which Renan ¹ gives a description and speaks in high terms. Judging from what is said of them, these walls must have been of vast proportions and strength.

¹ Renan, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

The engineering required in order to be able to deal efficiently with the colossal blocks used in some of the Phœnician constructions must have taxed the ingenuity of the country's architects and master-workmen, but apparently the resourcefulness of the people enabled them to overcome any difficulties that may have presented themselves.

As in many other ways, the Phœnicians showed great proficiency in engineering, and their superior knowledge in this respect over others of their day was clearly demonstrated on the occasion of the cutting of the canal through the isthmus of Mount Athos.¹

The main and most salient feature of Phœnician architecture was undoubtedly monolithism, the exact opposite of the principle adopted by the Greeks; and, although modified, to a certain extent, in the later period by Hellenic influence, it appears to have prevailed as long as Phœnicia proper lasted.

Though there is little still in existence in the way of statuary or sculpture, the few more important Phœnician tombs and sepulchral monuments which have been discovered show considerable architectural and artistic merit. As a rule, however, Phœnician tombs were mere excavations in the rock or soil, containing one or more chambers, in which the sarcophagi containing the remains of the dead were placed. The sarcophagi themselves, which were either of stone or marble, were sometimes perfectly plain, at other times ornamented with sculpture. Most of those discovered are evidently of a period when Greek art had already made its influence felt in Phœnicia, and when Greek designs had been adopted by the Phœnician sculptor.

Excelling as the Phœnicians did in most of the arts and industries of those days, their skilled workmen and artisans were in request even outside their own country; thus one reads in the Scriptures of King Hiram of Tyre furnishing workmen and materials, first for the construction of King David's palace in Jerusalem,² and afterwards for the building of Solomon's temple,³ which great and magnificent work may really be regarded as having been a Phœnician creation, probably both designed and mainly built by Tyrian workmen.

¹ Herod., vii. 23.

² 1 Chron. xiv. 1.

³ 2 Chron. ii. 3 *seqq.*

How numerous and varied were the qualifications of some of these artisans may be gathered from the following description given in the Bible ¹ of Hiram, the master-workman, sent by the king to superintend the building of Solomon's temple :

“ The son of a woman of the daughters of Dan, and his father was a man of Tyre, skilful to work in gold, and in silver, in brass, in iron, in stone, and in timber, in purple, in blue, and in fine linen, and in crimson ; also to grave any manner of graving, and to find out every device which shall be put to him.”

No mean list of accomplishments is this, even when compared with those of some of the Italian artists of the Renaissance, at once painters, sculptors, engravers, and architects.

Phœnicia during the seventh century B.C. must undoubtedly have been a most flourishing state, and Tyre the centre of attraction of that state, not only on account of its trade and commerce, but also, apparently, because of its political and social importance, as the recognised capital of the country. No better or more vivid description showing the degree of prosperity which Phœnicia, represented by Tyre, had attained at this period, and the high esteem in which she was held by other nations, can be had than that given by the prophet Ezekiel, when prophesying the downfall of Tyre.²

Concluding this brief sketch of Phœnicia and her people, one cannot refrain from alluding to what has repeatedly been stated regarding the Phœnicians not possessing any originality of thought or ideas. One is told that they lacked initiative and creative genius, that their work was simply imitative, and their designs and models mere copies of those of other and more gifted races.

Admitting this to be true perhaps in great measure, one cannot, however, deny that they excelled in the superior execution of their work and in the marvellous care and precision with which it was carried out. Practical in the highest degree, as well as most appreciative, they were not above accepting and assimilating what they thought good from other nations, and in many cases they

¹ 2 Chron. ii. 14.

² Ezek. xxvii.

actually improved on their masters and on what they may have learned from them.

Nor can one, surely, deny that these men of Canaan were, in many ways, despite the grave defects brought about by their degrading religion, an enlightened as well as a highly intelligent and shrewd race, or fail to recognise their many good qualities, their energy and enterprise, their perseverance and industry, their daring and hardihood, and their adaptability and resourcefulness. Above all, one cannot help admiring their calm tenacity in times of adversity, and the spirit of determination displayed by them in overcoming difficulties when humanly possible.

They were certainly the exponents and imparters of knowledge at one period, the only "barbarians," so called, whom the Greeks could not refuse to acknowledge as direct teachers, and it is undoubted that their civilising and beneficent influence extended over the whole of the Mediterranean and even beyond it.

Apart from having been the parent of Carthage, Phœnicia may indeed be looked upon as having been one of the great factors in the historical evolution of the nations of the Mediterranean.

As Professor Rawlinson very truly says in the concluding part of his interesting work on Phœnicia,¹ "This race was formed to excel, not in the field of speculation, or of thought, or of literary composition, or even of artistic perfection, but in the sphere of action and of practical ingenuity."

As such the Phœnician race did, in point of fact, excel for a considerable time, and as such its name has, through generations, been handed down to posterity, and will continue to live in history.

¹ Rawlinson, *History of Phœnicia*, p. 348.

CHAPTER II

PHŒNICIAN CITIES AND COLONIES

THE principal cities of Phœnicia were Tyre, Sidon, Aradus, Berytus, Byblus, and Tripolis. Besides these there were several other smaller towns and settlements, some of which appear, at one time or another of their existence, to have been of a certain importance.

Among the cities above mentioned, Tyre, the Phœnician Sur, although perhaps not the most ancient, stands out pre-eminent as having been, for a considerable period, by far the most powerful and important, its strength, its splendour, and its commerce fully entitling it to take precedence over all its sister-towns. Had Phœnicia been a confederated state, under one ruler, Tyre might justly at one time have laid claim to be considered as its capital, and, in point of fact, Tyre appears, for a considerable time, to have had a certain ascendancy over the other cities, and to have been looked up to by them as their leader.

The natural strategic position of Tyre, or "the Strong City," as it was called, no doubt contributed greatly towards its strength and immunity from attack, and, as in this particular respect, as well as in some others, the colony of Motya in Sicily somewhat resembled Tyre, it may be interesting here to give a short description of the site and environment of the great Phœnician stronghold.

The most-southerly settlement of any importance in Phœnicia, Tyre seems to have been formed of two distinct cities, one built on the sea-shore of the mainland, the other placed on a small island, or what were originally two small islands connected with each other, lying immediately opposite, and separated from the mainland by a channel or strait about half a mile in width. The former town, which was probably the older of the two, and was afterwards

known as Palætyrus, appears to have been of considerable size; but the latter, the island town, though restricted in size by the narrow limits of the island, perhaps not more than two miles in circumference, was undoubtedly the stronger, and, by reason of its insular position and the precautions taken to fortify it, was considered to be all but impregnable. Excellent harbours seem to have been made, both on the north and south sides of the island, with a canal, cut through the town, connecting them. Like Motya, however, Tyre, though protected by its insular position against any ordinary hostile attack, possessed an element of weakness in the shallowness of the channel separating it from the mainland, and in consequence of this, like Motya, it eventually met with its downfall. It is true that the Tyrian channel, in one spot, was very much deeper than that of Motya, but it was not deep enough to prevent Alexander's persistent efforts to fill it in from eventually succeeding.

Owing to the comparatively limited space available, the island Tyre was probably very thickly populated, the houses, like those of Motya, having apparently been very lofty and with several storeys.¹ The fortification walls also, particularly those on the side of the mainland, are said to have been very lofty and solidly constructed. The water supply, as in the case of Motya, appears to have been obtained, in great part, from the mainland, being conducted by pipes under the sea; but, as at Motya, cisterns were also largely used for collecting the rain-water, and we read of the islanders, when besieged, having been obliged to depend entirely on the supply contained in the latter and on the brackish water obtained from wells sunk in the soil.

From the descriptions given of it, Tyre, in addition to being a strongly fortified city, must have been a remarkably fine town, particularly during the days in which it was at its zenith, being full of well-constructed buildings, including a royal palace, temples to its deities, squares, public meeting-places, markets, arsenals, and warehouses—in short, a town provided with all that was necessary for the requirements of a prosperous capital and busy emporium, such as it was. The activity and prestige of Tyre must have

¹ Strabo, xvi. ii. 23.

indeed been great at one time, and especially during the reign of King Hiram. In Scripture, mention is repeatedly made of the amicable relations existing between the Tyrian ruler and both David and Solomon.

According to Josephus,¹ the relations between King Hiram and King Solomon were of a most friendly and intimate nature, the former being chiefly attracted to the Hebrew king by his great wisdom, while the latter, in his turn, seems greatly to have admired the energy and activity of the Tyrian monarch and his people. According to some accounts, Hiram gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon, and it is said that through her influence Solomon was induced to worship Astarte.

In the entire annals of history there is probably no town which ever offered so stubborn and heroic a resistance as Tyre did to the repeated attacks made on it by forces superior to its own. Its brilliant repulse of the Assyrians under Shalmaneser IV., in 725 B.C., was particularly noteworthy and deserving of all praise, and not less so was the determination with which it gallantly and unflinchingly held out, for a period of no less than thirteen years, against the Babylonian monarch Nebuchadnezzar, 598 to 585 B.C. Nothing, however, can surpass the noble and resolute resistance the undaunted city offered to Alexander the Great in 332 B.C., when, after seven months of supreme and superhuman efforts, the brave defenders were at last vanquished and Tyre, for a time, ceased to exist.

Next in importance to Tyre came the city of Sidon, one of, if not the most ancient of all the Phœnician towns. For a certain time, indeed, it seems to have been of more consequence than even Tyre, and was known among the Hebrews as "Great Sidon"; but its supremacy, apparently, was not of long duration. Situated on the sea-coast, like most of the Canaanite towns, and about twenty miles to the north of Tyre, its relations with that place were naturally more or less intimate, and the two cities appear to have been, at one time, federated together.

The fame of the Sidonians as mariners was at least equal to, if not greater than, that of the Tyrians, while in some of their

¹ *Tyrian Annals*, Menander, i.

industries, such as, for instance, those of weaving and glass-work, the Sidonians apparently surpassed the Tyrians.

Sidon naturally experienced the same vicissitudes of fortune as other Phœnician cities, and, like them, was successively under the dominion of the Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, and Macedonians. She seems to have heroically withstood a siege on the part of the Persians under Ochus, but, betrayed by her own king, the traitor Tennes, was completely destroyed by her own citizens, who, anticipating either slavery or death at the hands of their enemies, preferred to set fire to their dwellings and perish in the flames. Rebuilt, however, after a lapse of some years, Sidon again became an important town, under the Persians, continuing tributary to that power until the invasion of Alexander, when, still smarting under the recollection of her treatment eighteen years previously, she welcomed the newcomers with open arms, and, unlike Tyre, passed over to them without striking a blow.

Aradus, the most northerly town of any importance in Phœnicia, was, like Tyre, built on a small island, but at a greater distance from the mainland, on which, however, also stood a sister-town, Antaradus, almost opposite. In many respects Aradus closely resembled Tyre, its buildings being very lofty and crowded together, and its fortifications most solidly constructed. Cisterns were also used here for storing the rain-water, but, in addition thereto, an abundant supply of fresh water appears to have been obtained from a submarine spring rising in mid-channel between the island and the mainland.

Though at the present day the site of a fairly large and prosperous town, Berytus, the modern Beyrout, appears to have been of comparatively small importance in the time of the Phœnicians, little indeed being heard of the place in those days. It seems, however, to have been one of the oldest Phœnician towns, and its site was well chosen, being situated on a promontory jutting out for a considerable distance into the sea about the centre of the Phœnician coast-line.

Byblus, or Gebal, situated a little further north than Berytus, was also one of the most ancient of the Phœnician towns, and appears to have been a place of some importance for a considerable

period. During the reign of Solomon it was celebrated for its stone-cutters,¹ and later on for its "caulkers," who were employed by the Tyrians to make their vessels watertight.²

Tripolis, now Tarabulus, lies still further north, and, like Bertyus, is situated on a promontory running out into the sea. The old town was divided into three separate quarters, each a small town itself, which were said to have been founded by settlers from Tyre, Sidon, and Aradus. The river Kadisha finds its way into the sea at this point, flowing from the central ridge of Lebanon, and above the source of this river rise the loftiest summits in Syria, attaining more than nine thousand feet in height. Some of the finest cedar forests of Lebanon are to be found in this neighbourhood and are within easy distance of Tripolis.

Of the remaining Phœnician towns the most worthy of notice are Akka, or Acre, the ancient Ptolemais, near Carmel and Sarepta, in the south; Marathus, Simyra, and Laodicea in the north, the last three settlements being all celebrated for their antiquity.

We now come to the Phœnician colonies, or settlements, outside their own country.

At the very commencement of his history, Herodotus informs us that the Phœnicians, after "having settled in the country which they now inhabit, forthwith applied themselves to distant voyages; and that, having exported Egyptian and Assyrian merchandise, they touched at other places, and also at Argos."³ It was from this place that Io, daughter of Inachus, was carried off by the Phœnicians, who, according to the Persians, were the original authors of the quarrel which afterwards developed into the long series of conflicts between Greeks and barbarians.

The Phœnicians appear originally to have enjoyed the unenviable reputation of being great pirates, as well as kidnappers and slave-merchants, but they were probably no worse than other sea-faring people in the old days, and, in any case, they seem subsequently to have modified their ways and to have become peaceable traders, dealing honestly with the inhabitants of the countries they visited. Their great enterprise and spirit of adventure, combined with their natural commercial instincts, undoubtedly

¹ 1 Kings v. 18.

² Ezek. xxvii. 9.

³ Herod., i. 1.

induced them to travel far and wide, leading them gradually to extend their journeys to almost every part of the Mediterranean, and even far beyond that sea.

Egypt seems to have been the country first visited by the Phœnicians as traders, their advent in the districts near the mouth of the Nile being apparently welcomed and encouraged by the inhabitants of those places. At Memphis, indeed, they were permitted to establish a settlement or station, possibly only a temporary one, called the Tyrian Camp, from whence they carried on a busy trade with the Egyptians, and, in return for their own products, obtained the various articles of merchandise and goods which they required from that part of the African continent. These consisted mainly of corn, ivory, skins, feathers, pottery, and gems. According to Herodotus, the Phœnicians had a temple at Memphis dedicated to the "Foreign Venus," or Astarte, which was built about the time of the Trojan War, 1250 B.C., and were allowed to observe the worship of their deities freely and without hindrance.¹

Nothing of a positive nature appears to be known of any Phœnician settlement on the Red Sea, or in countries further east; but, considering the importance of Phœnicia's commerce in those parts, and the enterprise of its traders, it is by no means improbable that such may have existed.

Northwards, the Phœnicians visited most of the islands and sea-ports along the Mediterranean shores of Asia Minor, thence spreading westward, through the Ægean Sea, to the coasts of Greece, and along those of Macedonia, as far as the Black Sea. They may possibly even have penetrated into that sea and gone still further north, but of this there is no distinct evidence. On those islands and in other places which held out attraction to them for trading purposes they established settlements, among the principal of which may be mentioned Cilicia, Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete, the Cyclades and Sporades, Chalcis in Eubœa, and Thasos. Cyprus, from its vicinity, as well as on account of its abundant mineral and agricultural productions, appears to have been much resorted to by the Phœnicians, and traces of their occupation there are numerous.

¹ Herod., ii. 112.

Oliarus, the most northern of the Cyclades, was probably occupied on account of its proximity to the marble quarries of Paros, on the opposite mainland.

Thasos was also another place most popular with these traders on account of its great mineral wealth. Herodotus, speaking of the mines of Thasos, writes thus : " I myself have seen these mines ; and by far the most wonderful of them are those which the Phœnicians discovered, who with Thasos colonised this island, which on that occasion took its name from this Thasos the Phœnician. These Phœnician mines are in that part of Thasos between a place called Ænyra and Cœnyra, opposite Samothrace : a large mountain has been thrown upside down in the search." ¹

Thasos must have been a somewhat important colony, for, besides possessing a temple dedicated to Hercules, built by the Phœnicians, we read of it as being well fortified with strong walls and possessing a fleet of warships.

Chalcis in Eubœa appears to have been occupied by the Phœnicians for the sake of its rich copper mines, while Laurium is said to have supplied them with a vast quantity of silver.

Metal ore was no doubt what chiefly attracted the Phœnicians to these parts, but we hear of their also obtaining in certain districts here the *Murex*, for which their own shores were so celebrated, and which was in such great request with them for their " Tyrian dye." The islands of Cythera and Thera, as well as the town of Itanus on the east of Crete, appear to have been great centres of the purple-dye trade.

From the eastern and southern coasts of Greece, the Phœnicians passed round to the west, and as far north as Epirus ; but here, apparently, their attempts at settlement in this direction ceased, nor do we hear positively of their going further up the Adriatic, or of their establishing settlements on the coast of the Italian peninsula. At the same time, however, we cannot but think that their trading vessels carried their commerce to the extreme north of the Adriatic, and that they may even have had factories or stations there.

According to Strabo,² it was at an early period, or soon after

¹ Herod., vi. 47.

² Strabo, i. 48.

the Trojan War, that the Phœnicians established colonies in South Spain, and apparently their earlier settlements in North Africa were effected about the same date. It seems probable, indeed, that the Phœnician traders, about this time, either in consequence of their being ousted by the Greeks from some of their settlements in the Eastern Mediterranean, or possibly merely because of a desire still further to extend their travels and commerce, determined on visiting the western portion of this sea. Taking the southern route,¹ by way of Egypt, and skirting along the North African coast, they will eventually have reached the Straits of Gibraltar, the so-called "Pillars of Hercules," and, finding a *terra grata* in the fertile region of Bœtica or Andalusia, watered by the river Bœtis, now the Guadalquivir, they there founded several colonies, among them Gadeira, or Gadès, the modern Cadiz, Malaca, the present Malaga, Carteia, supposed to have been situated in the Bay of Algeciras, and Abdera, either the modern Adra or Almeria.

The most important of these appears to have been Gadès, the chief emporium, apparently, of the district of Tartessus or Turdetania, as it was called later, and probably the Tarshish so frequently mentioned in Scripture. Whether there was a town of that name or not, there is every reason to believe that the term Tarshish was applied to the whole of the surrounding district, which was celebrated for its riches, as, in addition to its agricultural importance, its mineral wealth appears to have been very great, and its fisheries also most productive.

At Gadès temples were erected to several of the Phœnician deities, among them one dedicated to Hercules or Melkarth, which, according to Diodorus, continued to be held in great veneration by the Romans long after the time of its Phœnician founders.²

Whether the earlier settlements on the North African coast were effected by the Phœnicians on their way to Spain, or shortly afterwards, it is difficult to say. The earliest town to be founded

¹ According to some authorities, it is more probable that the Phœnicians took the northern route, by way of Greece and Sicily, and the fact of no traces of their colonisation having been found along the North African coast between Egypt and Leptis Magna would rather favour this supposition.

² Diod., v. 2.

on that coast was Utica, in the twelfth century before Christ.¹ Utica, signifying "the Ancient," was situated on the north of the Gulf of Tunis, and about twenty miles from the town of that name. Though obliged to take a secondary place after the foundation of Carthage, or "the New City," it retained its importance for several centuries later, playing a conspicuous though by no means an admirable part in the Punic wars. It ceased to exist, however, after the Mohammedan invasion, and its site is now occupied by the miserable little village of Bou-Shata.

Several other settlements were founded by the early Phœnicians along the North African coast, among the principal of which may be mentioned Hadrumetum, or the modern Susa, Thapsus, and Leptis Minor, situated on the south of the Gulf of Hammanet in Central Tunisia, Leptis Magna on the Gulf of Syrtis, and Hippo Regius, near the modern town of Bône, in Algeria, the scene of a great portion of the life and of the death of St Augustine. Tacapé, or Khabs, the modern town of Gabês, on the South Tunisian coast, as well as the island of Meninx, or the Isle of the Lotophagi,² the present Djerba, close by Gabês, are both said to have been Phœnician, as proved by inscriptions, and the latter is stated to have had an extensive trade in the purple dye. The present inland town of Gafsa, the Roman Capsa, is also said to have been founded by the Phœnicians under the name of Kafaz.

Phœnicia's greatest colony, destined to play so important a part in the world's history, was probably not founded until the second half of the ninth century before Christ, and, according to some good authorities, not until the year 814 B.C.

The story of the founding of Carthage has been written by various authors, and is so well known as to render even a brief description of it superfluous here.

The foundation of colonies in Sicily, as well as of those in Malta,

¹ According to some authorities, the date of the foundation of Utica was 1140 B.C., while that of Gadès has been given as 1100 B.C.

² This name is no doubt derived from the lotus, or the fruit of the *Zizyphus lotus*, Lam., possibly the *lotus arbor* of the ancients, which appears to be found in South Tunisia. The species of *Zizyphus*, however, which is most commonly to be met with throughout Central and Southern Tunisia is the *Z. spina Christi*, L., the "seedra" of the Arabs.

Gozo, Pantelleria, and Lampedusa, was probably carried out shortly after that of the earlier settlements in North Africa, or between the eleventh and ninth centuries B.C.

Settlements in Corsica, Elba, and the Balearic Isles, as well as those on the east coast of Spain and the west coast of Africa, together with the Atlantic islands of that coast, which have been attributed to the Phœnicians, were probably not effected until somewhat later, and were then, as seems more likely, carried out by Carthaginians, and not by the older Phœnicians. There is good reason, however, to suppose that Sardinia was visited by traders from Phœnicia itself in the earlier period, although this island was no doubt more extensively colonised later on by the Carthaginians, when it appears to have become a most prosperous country, entirely under Punic rule.¹ It is even said that the Phœnician language was still spoken and written in Sardinia after the Roman conquest.²

There seems to be no evidence of any settlements having been made on the Atlantic coast, further north than Andalusia, until the English Channel is reached, and here one hears of the traders carrying on an extensive commerce in Cornwall and the Scilly Isles, where they appear to have established themselves in order to obtain the supplies of tin required for their trade. Diodorus³ speaks of the tin being conveyed to the opposite French coast, and thence transported, by means of pack animals, through France to the mouth of the Rhone, a thirty days' journey; but no doubt a certain quantity of the metal will also have been carried by the Phœnician ships direct to the Mediterranean. At Marseilles, the ancient Massalia, or close by, it is probable the Phœnicians or Carthaginians had a not unimportant settlement.

Whether the southern shores of Britain and the Scilly Isles, the Cassiterides or "Tin Islands," as they were called, formed the extreme limit of Phœnician wandering in this direction is uncertain. It may have extended still further up the English Channel, and possibly even to the Baltic, whence apparently came a portion

¹ Lenormant, *Manuel d'histoire ancienne*, vol. iii. p. 197.

² *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, i. 143 and 149.

³ Diod., v. 2.

of the amber which seems to have constituted an important article of Phœnician commerce ; but of this there is no distinct evidence. What is undoubted, however, is that the Phœnicians, bold navigators and adventurous explorers as they were, will have penetrated as far as they possibly could, and, even without perhaps actually planting permanent settlements, they may have visited many spots of which no mention is to be found in the accounts we have of their travels.

In their commerce with the north they apparently made use of two overland trade routes, in addition to the ocean route round Spain and France, one being that above referred to, through France to the mouths of the Rhone, the other one through Central Europe to the head of the Adriatic.

Roughly speaking, the colonisation of the older Phœnicians may be said to have extended over almost the whole of the Eastern Mediterranean, from Egypt in the south to the Dardanelles in the north ; along the North African coast, from Cyrenaica in the east to the Straits of Gibraltar and South Spain in the west ; to Sicily, Malta, Sardinia, and some smaller islands in the Central Mediterranean ; and finally to the British coasts and the English Channel.

Pre-eminently a maritime people, the Phœnicians appear to have confined their colonisation almost exclusively to the sea-coasts, and, although their trade with the interior of many of the Eastern countries seems to have been considerable, one hears of but few cases of any settlement having been made far inland.

The fact of the Phœnicians practically commanding the sea in the days in which they lived, coupled with the confidence they entertained in their ships and their skill in all nautical matters, may be considered sufficient to account for this ; while it is easy to understand that the sites which they selected for their settlements were those which not only offered facilities for their trading operations, but also, to a great extent, assured them safety and immunity from hostile aggression, as well as allowing freedom of departure, should such be found advisable.

Thus one finds the Phœnicians almost invariably occupying small

islands, promontories, and headlands, from whence they were able to carry on their trading voyages without difficulty, and at the same time to obtain a commanding view of the surrounding country and avoid all risk of a surprise attack.

In most instances, no doubt, at any rate in the earlier period, the settlements made were of a tentative or experimental character, probably temporary stations, or even mere encampments pitched on some shore which seemed likely to offer possibilities, or of which the traders had chanced to gather some previous information of an encouraging nature. Here, after reconnoitring the immediate neighbourhood, they no doubt entered into communication with the native inhabitants, exhibiting their wares for sale, and opening transactions with them by barter.¹ In the event of the new station proving likely to satisfy their requirements, the traders probably established a permanent settlement there, and other traders, with their families, were doubtless invited to join the community. On the other hand, should the site, for some reason or other, not have been approved of, it was abandoned and a fresh settlement attempted elsewhere.

Colonising expeditions on a large scale, like that of Hanno, described in the *Periplus*, purposely sent forth with the view of establishing settlements throughout a given tract of country, belonged to a later date or to the Carthaginian period, and even then were probably of exceptional occurrence, though a certain number of such colonies were founded along the west coast of

¹ Herodotus (iv. 196) relates how the Carthaginians, according to their own account, bartered their merchandise for gold, probably gold dust, on the West African coast. The traders seem to have landed and deposited their goods on the sea-shore, after which, returning to their ships, they lighted fires on board to attract the attention of the natives by means of a dense smoke. The natives, on seeing this, and the coast being clear, approached the goods and, after examining them carefully, placed by their side the amount of gold they considered a fair price for them, then withdrawing inland again. The traders, relanding, made their calculations, and if they considered the amount sufficient they took it and, leaving the merchandise, re-embarked and sailed away; otherwise they left both goods and gold and, returning to their ships, waited till the natives increased the amount. The good faith displayed on the part of both sides in these transactions contrasts strangely with the distrust so evident in other respects on the part of one if not of both the parties.

Morocco, and trading appears to have been carried on for a considerable distance down the West African coast. The most important of the Carthaginian settlements on the west coast of Morocco must undoubtedly have been Lixus, near the site of the present El-Araich, to judge from the ruins that have been discovered of its fortifications and other remains.¹

¹ It is difficult, not to say impossible, at the present day, to single out, with certainty, any particular spot or people still showing what may be supposed to be the stamp of the Phœnician, the indications we have of their characteristics being so very faint.

Sir Gerald Strickland, in a paper recently read by him on "Malta and the Phœnicians," has given reasons for supposing the Maltese to be allied to a race from the Caucasus, and would trace the origin of the Phœnicians to that region. He is no doubt quite right in considering that the Maltese people are altogether distinct from the Arab, and he is probably not wrong in looking upon them as descendants of the Phœnicians.

In a publication that has recently appeared (M. Autran, *Les Phéniciens*), Asia Minor and the Ægean are suggested as being the original home of the Phœnicians.

CHAPTER III

SICILY AND ITS EARLIER INHABITANTS

A SKETCH of the country and people whence Motya sprang having been traced in the preceding chapters, it is now proposed to say a few words regarding the island which was, for so many centuries, the home of that and kindred colonies, and to speak of the other inhabitants of ancient Sicily, either older or contemporaries of the Phœnician settlers. This short notice of Sicily and its earlier inhabitants may be conducive to a clearer understanding of what may be said later on regarding Motya and its relations with the mainland.

Sicily, the island dedicated in mythology to Ceres and Proserpine, first known, because of its practically triangular shape, by the name of Trinacria, and subsequently by the names of Sicania and Sicilia, ranks foremost among the islands of the Mediterranean, not only because of its intrinsic importance, but also on account of the prominent place it has occupied in history.

Its central geographical position—a bridge or stepping-stone, as it were, placed between the European and African continents, dividing the Eastern from the Western Mediterranean—of itself assured it the conspicuous place it always held in the history of the ancient world, and made it what has aptly been called the meeting-ground and battlefield of many nations, though, partly because of its position and partly on account of its size, it seems never, in the old days, to have been the exclusive domain of any one people or nation.

Situated at the southern extremity of the Italian peninsula, at the proverbial “toe of the boot,” and separated from it by the narrow though deep channel formerly known as the *Fretum Siculum*

and now by the name of the Straits of Messina, Sicily lies not more than about eighty miles distant from the nearest point of the African coast, and at some period of the world's history was apparently united both to that and to the European continent.¹

Its separation from the latter and from the Italian mainland, as shown by geological evidence, must date from an extremely remote period. The question, however, as to the date when the great cataclysm occurred which rent the two lands asunder is one which has never been solved, and we must be content to look upon Sicily as having been an island, not only from the earliest historical or even legendary days, but from a period far antecedent to those times.²

Although mathematically not a true triangle—for Sicily really has a fourth side to it on the west,—the extension of this fourth side is comparatively so limited as to authorise the popular assumption regarding its shape, and justify one in looking upon the island as practically triangular. The true triangle might indeed once have existed, supposing the islands of the Ægates to have originally been part of Sicily, together with the intervening space now occupied by water.

The irregular triangle which Sicily forms has for its base the east coast, lying between Cape Faro (Pelorus) on the north and Cape Passaro (Pachynus) on the south, while its apex may be said to be Cape Boeo (Lilybæum), the most westerly point of the island.

According to the most recent official Italian statistics, the circumference of Sicily, reckoning the sinuosities of the coast, is

¹ According to geologists, Southern Europe was still connected with the African continent in the Quaternary period, and this is confirmed by the numerous fossil remains discovered in Sicily of Quaternary mammals of the genera *Elephas*, *Hippopotamus*, and others, besides those of still existing African forms. Apparently the fauna of the region in which Sicily is situated, or the South Mediterranean region, as it may be called, bore far greater affinity in remote times with that of Africa than with that of Europe, and it may consequently be supposed that the climate of this region in those days was a much warmer and more tropical one than it is now.

² In the legend of Hercules coming to Sicily from the west, with the oxen of Geryonês, the hero is stated to have crossed the straits (Diod., iv. 22). The name of the town of Rhegium on the straits, signifying a *breach*, although undoubtedly associated with the channel between the mainland and the island, may or may not refer to the actual occurrence of the rupture which separated the two shores.

just about 1000 kilometres, or 1115 kilometres including the smaller islands around it, while its area is about 25,400 square kilometres, or 25,700 square kilometres with the islands.

The greater part of Sicily is mountainous, this character being particularly noticeable in the interior, while comparatively but a limited area is occupied by plains or level country. Some of the mountain ranges attain a considerable elevation, though totally eclipsed in height by the detached and isolated volcano of Mount Etna, or Mongibello, on the east, which, standing in its solitary grandeur, rises by a gentle and gradual slope to the imposing altitude of over 3300 metres above sea-level.

Another isolated mountain, one intimately associated with our Motyan history, lies on the extreme western coast of Sicily. This is Mount Eryx, the site of the Elymian town of that name, with ancient Drepanum, now Trapani, lying immediately below it. Eryx, the modern Monte San Giuliano, rises to a height of over 700 metres above sea-level, and, standing out boldly as a promontory, is a conspicuous feature looking northward from Motya.

Rounding Cape Santo Vito, to the north-east of Eryx, one comes to the glorious bay of Castellammare, with the small town of that name, once probably the site of the haven or seaport of another Elymian town, Segesta, which stood high up on its hill, some way inland.

Further eastward is the "Conca d'Oro," or the "Golden Shell," with Palermo, the capital of Sicily, the ancient Panormus, and its sentinel hill, Monte Pellegrino, rising boldly out of the sea to the north of the city. Monte Pellegrino, or the Pilgrims' Hill, known in the old days by the name of Ercta, was once the site of a Punic camp.

Still further east lies the hill of Solus, one of the three chief Phœnician settlements, and the easternmost outpost of Phœnician power in Sicily, from which rises the chain of mountains encircling the fertile plain of Palermo and extending further inland.

Though rich in mountains, Sicily is poor in rivers and lakes. The valleys lying between the hill ranges naturally form torrents, the so-called *fiumare* of the Sicilians, which, though swollen

after the abundant rains in winter, are dry at other seasons; but rivers proper are few and far between.

The lakes also are of comparatively small importance, though that of Pergusa, the sacred lake of Enna, the *umbilicus Siciliæ*, as it was styled, is celebrated in legend as having been the spot from whence Proserpine was carried off by Pluto, and for having been the "region of perpetual spring." The "Lake of the Palici" also, those mystic deities of the Sicels, was of great renown in legendary history.

The greater part of the interior of Sicily was probably, at one time, well wooded, but most of the forests have since been cut down, and comparatively few of them remain at the present day. The pine-woods of Mount Etna appear to have furnished Dionysius with all the timber required for the building of his fleet, specially equipped for the great war against Carthage in 397 B.C.¹ The plains and lower-lying districts of Sicily show a considerable wealth and variety of vegetation, though in dry seasons the pastures are deficient.

Whether corn once grew wild in the island, as stated by Diodorus, it is impossible to say, but its cultivation here certainly dates from a remote period, and Homer's verses² testify to the wonderful fertility of the Sicilian lands in ancient days. The Leontine and Geloan fields, we know, were renowned for their extraordinary fecundity and the rich crops which they produced. Sicily's reputation as a corn-growing country has always been proverbial, though the title formerly bestowed upon it as "the granary of Rome" could hardly be applied to the island at the present day, when the corn it produces little more than suffices for its home consumption, and, in some years, probably does not even do that.

Whether the climate of Sicily may have undergone some change since the early days of history, and in consequence of the denudation of its woodlands, it is difficult to say; but if we may judge from the terms of praise in which the island is spoken of by some of the classical writers, there is every reason to suppose that Sicily in those days, among its many charms, must have included that of

¹ Diod., xiv. 7.

² *Odyssey*, ix. 169.

a delightful climate, and this doubtless formed an additional attraction to the inhabitants of other countries, among them the men of Canaan, in search of sites for their colonies.

Proceeding now to speak of the earlier inhabitants of Sicily, that is to say, of those whom the Phœnicians found already established in the island on their arrival there, probably no clearer or more concise description of them can be found than that given by Thucydides.¹

From this description, and from the accounts of other ancient writers, it is evident that comparatively little was known, even in remote times, of the earlier inhabitants of Sicily, and practically nothing of a positive nature of the legendary people known as the Cyclopes and Læstrygones, who are said to have inhabited the land, and of whom, with Thucydides, we may be content to say: "Let that suffice which has been said by the poets"!

The Sicani, or Sicanians, who are the next inhabitants we hear of, and who may be regarded as the first people recorded by tradition as having lived in Sicily, are said to have been Iberians, who came to Sicily from Spain. There is, however, nothing to prove that such was the case, the Sicani themselves, indeed, claiming to be *autochthones*, or the aboriginal inhabitants of the land, and not immigrants from any other country. Be this as it may, and whatever their real origin may have been, the fact remains that the Sicani appear before us as the first recorded inhabitants of Sicily.² Little enough is known of the Sicani or Sicans, nor can we presume to say much about them. They do not appear to have been by any means an energetic or industrious people, nor yet a warlike one, for, on the arrival of the Sicels in the east of Sicily, they retired before the newcomers, apparently without offering great resistance, to their mountain cities in the south and west of the island. None of their towns, however, secure from attack as most of them may have been, on their lofty sites, seem to have been of much importance, or equal in any way to those of the later inhabitants of Sicily; and yet one of them—Camicus—possibly

¹ Thuc., vi. 2.

² Supposing the Sicani to have belonged to one of the branches of the so-called Mediterranean race from North Africa, it is as likely as not that they crossed over from that continent direct to Sicily, or by way of the island of Pantelleria (Cossyra).

the modern Caltabellotta, or perhaps Siculiana, is celebrated in Greek legend as having been the residence of King Cocalus, having been built for him by Dædalus, in return for the hospitality received on his escape from the wrath of the Cretan Minos, who, according to the story given, followed Dædalus to Sicily, and there met with his death at the hand of Cocalus and his daughters.

Following in the footsteps of the Sicani, but hailing, we are told, from the Italian peninsula, then came the Siculi or Sicels.

According to Thucydides, the Sicels crossed over to Sicily by the Straits of Messina, and occupied the best parts of the land, compelling the Sicans to retire to the southern and western districts, and changing the name of the island from Sicania to Sicilia. Whether, in order to occupy the positions they did in the eastern districts, the Sicels had to use force, as stated by Thucydides, or whether this part of the island had already been evacuated by the Sicans, as elsewhere stated, on account of the eruptions of Mount Etna, is uncertain. In any case, however, they appear to have been a more powerful and progressive race than the Sicans, and to have met with comparatively slight opposition from them. Driven in their turn, later on, by the Greeks, from their possessions in the east of Sicily, the Sicels withdrew to the central and northern parts of the island, to which Greek occupation had not extended. Numerous are the sites once occupied by the Sicels in Sicily, but many of these had to be abandoned and passed into the hands of the newcomers, while others, though maintaining their independence and individuality for a while, must gradually have been affected by Greek influence, and, in course of time, have become practically Greek. The Sichel element was, nevertheless, very strong in Sicily, and must, in its turn, have affected the Greeks to some extent. A fact significant of this is that of the Sichel name for the island having been preserved by the Greeks.¹

¹ The question as to whether the Sicani and the Siculi were distinct races, or one and the same people, does not appear yet to have been quite satisfactorily determined. On the one hand, tradition seems to be concordant in affirming the two peoples to be distinct, the Sicani being said to have been immigrants from Iberia, and the Siculi immigrants from the south of the Italian peninsula, both races, according to Thucydides, still inhabiting Sicily even in his day. On the other hand, archaeological evidence, so far, appears not to support this tradition, but the contrary. Tradition, as we know, is liable to exaggeration and distortion, in some cases to such an

The Elymi or Elymians, a third race, whose origin is as obscure, or even more so than that of the Sicans, but who claimed to be of Trojan, or of a mixed Trojan and Greek descent, are another people we hear of as dwelling in Sicily. Whatever their origin may really have been, the Greeks do not appear to have regarded them as differing greatly from the so-called barbarians. True colonists they must have been, in any case, and not traders like the Phœnicians, as shown by the sites they occupied. They inhabited the north-west of Sicily, dwelling in the hill towns of Segesta and Eryx, the former some way inland, the latter on the coast, but both on hills, no doubt for greater safety. Entella has, by some authorities, been supposed also to have been an Elymian settlement, but there seems to be no good reason for considering it otherwise than Sican. Though we have no positive knowledge of it, Segesta probably occupied a station on the sea-coast, and presumably in the present bay of Castellammare, as Eryx, in its later days, had a harbour at Drepanum.¹

The Elymians appear to have lived on friendly terms with their Phœnician neighbours in Sicily, and even to have formed an alliance with them on the arrival of the Greeks in the island, although in later times the people of Eryx bore no good-will, but the contrary, towards the new Phœnician régime, under the Carthaginians, and at a critical moment—the *most* critical in the whole history of Motya—they actually joined the Greeks against that town. Segesta, on the other hand, mindful of the advantages derived from her alliance with the Phœnicians, appears to have remained faithful to

extent as to render it absolutely valueless, but there is generally some foundation of truth in it, and, in any case, it cannot be put aside lightly or without good reason. In the present instance there would certainly have been nothing to have prevented the two separate immigrations into Sicily having taken place, whether they proceeded from Spain or North Italy, or, as seems more likely, from North Africa in the one case, and from Southern Italy in the other, and the absence, so far, of archæological evidence in support of the tradition cannot, of itself alone, be held as conclusive argument against it. Under the circumstances, and although one hesitates to question the opinion of eminent authorities, whose competence to speak on the subject is indisputable, one cannot but come to the conclusion that the question remains still an open one. (Cf. Prof. P. Orsi, *Mon. Ant.*, ix. 110; T. Eric Peet, *Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy*, pp. 479 *seqq.*, and references.)

¹ According to Salinas (*Archiv Stor. Sicil.*, i. (1873)), the name Eryx may be derived from *Erech*, a town mentioned in Genesis (x. 10) as existing in Mesopotamia.

them even to the last. And yet Greek influence seems to have been far greater at Segesta than it ever was at Eryx. This was no doubt in great part owing to the fact of the Segestan territory adjoining that of Greek Selinus, and because of the intimate relations which apparently existed at times between the two towns, thus forming conditions which must have affected the life and being of Segesta generally, as they certainly did its art and architecture, if we are to judge from the two fine monuments still remaining to us.

Eryx, on the other hand, whatever it may have been at the beginning of its history, apparently came under Phœnician influence, if not actual rule, at an early date, and continued to be affected by that influence even at a later period, when openly opposed to Carthage.

Phœnician in its religion, as it undoubtedly was, it will no doubt have also been so in many other ways, such as its art and industries, and in its life generally. Of its buildings, unfortunately, little enough remains at the present day to show their character, but what there is bears the stamp of the Phœnician and not of the Greek. Of its celebrated temple, the temple of Aphroditê Erycina, only a fragment remains, and even that, by some, is looked upon as doubtful. Of the scarcely less famous wall, the wall of Eryx, somewhat more still remains, and among the stones which form it may be seen some with the Phœnician letter *beth* clearly engraved upon them.

Eryx lives on, in a certain sense, in the modern Monte San Giuliano, the hill town above Trapani, once its haven;¹ whereas Segesta, except for its beautiful though unfinished fifth-century Doric temple, and less important theatre, has passed away and totally disappeared.

¹ Drepanum, the modern Trapani, apparently only became the haven of Eryx in its later days, and we first hear of it on the occasion of Dionysius' last campaign in Western Sicily (Diod., xv. 73). It appears to have been founded in the year 260 B.C., when, in order to populate it, Hamilcar transported the inhabitants of Eryx to the new town, leaving only those who had the custody of the temple.

CHAPTER IV

THE PHŒNICIANS IN SICILY—THEIR SETTLEMENTS OF MOTYA, SOLUS, AND PANORMUS

WE now come to those who may be called the true settlers or colonists, the people who, from a parent state, came to Sicily, and there founded independent colonies or settlements, some permanent, others merely temporary. The first of these to arrive were the Phœnicians, the next the Greeks.

The exact date of the foundation of Phœnician settlements in Sicily is unknown; judging, however, from what Thucydides writes ¹ of the Sicels being established in the island nearly three hundred years before any Greeks came into it, and of the Phœnicians also living there for the purpose of trading with the Sicels, we may venture to fix the date at some period between the eleventh and the ninth century before Christ. It was, in fact, probably at that time when, partly in consequence of the growth of Hellenic power forcing them to abandon many of their settlements in the Eastern Mediterranean, and partly owing to their innate love of travel and commercial enterprise, the Phœnicians wandered westward in search of new sites for their trading stations. Sicily, like the smaller islands of Malta (Melita), Gozo (Gaulos), Pantelleria (Cossyra), and Lampedusa (Lampas), lay in the direct route of the Phœnicians travelling westward to Spain and North-western Africa, and was not likely to be passed by without good reason. On the contrary, the fertile island probably held out attractions which were irresistible to the adventurous mariners and traders, and was therefore most naturally visited by them. It would indeed have been strange had it been otherwise, considering the

¹ Thuc., vi. 2.

comparatively short distance between Sicily and the African coast, with Cossyra, moreover, as a stepping-stone between the two.

With regard to the origin of the Phœnician settlements in Sicily, it is thought by some authorities that those situated on the west of the island, facing the African coast, were offshoots of the earlier North African colonies, those on the east side being settlements from old Phœnicia itself; but there are no grounds for this supposition, and it is quite as likely that all the settlements in Sicily were of direct Phœnician origin. In any case, however, what appears to be undoubted is that the Phœnician colonies in Sicily belong to the early Phœnician period, and not to that of Carthage, which town was possibly not even founded when the Sicilian settlements were already in a flourishing state.

At one period Phœnician settlements, in some form or other, appear to have existed along a considerable portion of the Sicilian coast, and their occupants seem to have lived on friendly terms with the older inhabitants of the island, trading peaceably with them, and not attempting any territorial expansion, or otherwise interfering with their neighbours. With the exception, however, of those colonies in the north-west of the island, the Phœnicians do not appear to have possessed settlements of great importance in Sicily; at all events, there is nothing to show that such was the case. Most of the settlements, indeed, were probably mere temporary trading stations, or factories, capable of being easily transplanted from one site to another, as the case might require.

Several spots on the east and south coasts of Sicily have been named as presumable sites of Phœnician occupation, some on account of their prominent and attractive position, others because of the supposed Semitic derivation of their names; and, although there is no actual proof of it, there is every reason to believe that many of these spots really were, at some time or other, occupied by the Phœnicians, or were visited by them for the purposes of trade. Any name given by the newcomers to a site or district not previously named would probably have taken root, and been adopted by successive generations.

On the arrival of the Greeks in Sicily, the Phœnicians, as told us by Thucydides, "evacuated the greater part of their

settlements and lived in Motya, Soloeis, and Panormus, near the Elymi, having united with them, both from confidence in their alliance, and because from that quarter the voyage from Sicily to Carthage is shortest.”¹

That the Phœnician colonists were unwilling to quit Sicily altogether was not unnatural, and the reasons, as above given, for their withdrawal to the north-west corner of the island were no doubt excellent. It is true that Carthage, at that time, although already a flourishing state, had not yet made her power felt in Sicily, but reports of her rapidly developing greatness must by then have reached Sicily and made her kinsmen there desirous of being within easy reach of her.

The abandonment of the Phœnician settlements in Sicily, other than those above mentioned in the north-west of the island, was probably a gradual one, and was presumably not carried out until the Greeks had totally overcome the older inhabitants, and fully established their rule throughout the eastern portion of Sicily. When this actually took place is not known, but there is reason to believe that it did not occur until well on in the second half of the seventh century before Christ.² Whether the three Phœnician colonies above mentioned were at that time already important towns, or whether they only became so later on, after the concentration of the Phœnician element in this quarter of the island, the so-called barbarian quarter, is also unknown. Considering, however, the advantageous position of at least two of the sites, it is not unreasonable to conclude that they were among the first

¹ Thuc., vi. 2.

² Freeman (*History of Sicily*, vol. i. p. 246) says: “The final withdrawal from east, north, and south, the final establishment in the north-west only, can hardly have been accomplished till late in the second half of the seventh century before Christ,” and is of opinion that Himera and Selinus, both founded in the second half of the seventh century B.C., must have been already in existence when the final withdrawal occurred. Both these settlements, being so near Phœnician territory, formed a permanent menace to it, and particularly the latter, the site of which, for various reasons, one might suppose, would hardly have been left unoccupied by the Phœnicians at that time, had it not already been in the hands of the Greeks. On the other hand, however, one may be equally justified in concluding that the Phœnicians at that period had no wish to found other settlements, and, moreover, may have considered that, having an emporium and stronghold like Motya so conveniently situated for communication and dealings with Carthage, another such settlement would have been superfluous. Holm (*Gesch. Siciliens*) places the withdrawal between 700 and 640 B.C.

spots chosen by the settlers on their arrival in Sicily, and that, as such, they were already of some consequence at the time of the concentration. Be this as it may, there can be no doubt that, on this taking place, the Phœnicians will have done their utmost to strengthen and consolidate their position in North-western Sicily, and that the three sites in question will rapidly have still further developed and increased in importance. The fact alone of their becoming the home of the entire Phœnician population of the island will have contributed greatly towards this.

Although we do not know it for a fact, it is more than probable that an alliance of some sort existed between the three settlements at this time; between the two on the north coast it must undoubtedly have done so, and, although the western colony of Motya was separated from the other two by a considerable tract of country, it was presumably also included in the union.

For the good understanding existing between the Phœnicians and their neighbours, the Elymi, we have Thucydides' own statement, and there would appear to be abundant evidence of the friendly relations reigning between the two peoples, and of the extent to which Phœnician influence reached, at any rate in Eryx. At Segesta Greek influence was no doubt in some respects more powerful than Phœnician, though hardly, we venture to think, politically.

It remains for us now to speak somewhat more in detail of the three great Phœnician settlements in North-western Sicily, and to give a short topographical description of each site. Taking them in the order in which they are named by Thucydides, we will commence with Motya, the colony of which, indeed, we hear most, and which, judging from what we read of it, must at one time have been the most important of all the Phœnician settlements in Sicily.

Much controversy has existed in the past with respect to the site of Motya, some writers having placed it near Cape Pachynus, and others on the Isola delle Femmine, or on the opposite mainland near Sferracavallo and Capo Gallo, on the north coast. Others again have supposed that it was in the bay of Mondello, close to

Palermo; and, owing to a confusion of names, some have even supposed it to be at Agrigentum. One writer, while recognising the "Stagnone di Marsala" as the bay of Motya, has yet preferred to place the actual site of the ancient city on what was formerly the peninsula known as the Aigithallos, the present Isola Lunga.

Pausanias appears to have led many astray, for, when describing the votive offerings at Olympia,¹ he distinctly refers to Motya as being near the promontory of Pachynus: here again there has been a confusion of names, Motyca being the place to which Pausanias no doubt referred, and not our Phœnician Motya.

Among later historians who appear to have followed Pausanias' misleading error in confusing Motya with Motyca is the Sicilian writer Fazello, who, in his important work published in 1574,² enumerates no less than three different spots as the possible site of Motya, none of the three, however, in the Stagnone of Marsala.

It is true that Motyca near Pachynus may also have been a Phœnician settlement, and possibly it may have been destroyed by Dionysius on the occasion spoken of by Diodorus, when he tells us of the Tyrant having "harried the Carthaginians at Syracuse prior to starting for the great siege of Motya."³

In the writings of Timæus, who continued the careful work of Thucydides, as also perhaps in those of the historian Philistus, both of which works were extant in the time of Pausanias, an explanation of the latter's error might have been found, but unfortunately neither of the two works is available. Their loss, total in the one case, and partial in the other, cannot sufficiently be deplored, leaving as it does so great a gap in our knowledge of the events of those times. Another grievous loss to history is that of Antiochus' work on Sicily, though Thucydides may perhaps have made use of it to a certain extent.

Of comparatively recent authors, Cluver, writing in 1619,⁴ seems to have been the first to fix the site of Motya as being on the small island now called San Pantaleo, lying immediately north of Lilybæum, the modern Cape Boeo, the most westerly point of

¹ Paus., v. 25.

² Faz., *De rebus siculis*, i.

³ Diod., xiv. 9.

⁴ Cluv., *Sicilia antiqua cum minoribus insulis ei adjacentibus*, v. 251.

Sicily. D'Orville¹ and Houel,² writing in the following century, both appear to have accepted Cluver's identification.

Of this island being the site of Motya there can be little doubt, reading what Diodorus writes,³ first, of Dionysius "marching out of Syracuse towards Eryx, not far from which hill stood the city Motya," and, later on, of the Carthaginian general Himilco "arriving in the night upon the coasts of Selinus, and so, sailing round the promontory of Lilybæum, about break of day reaching Motya."

Thucydides' words, when alluding to the withdrawal of the Phœnicians to Motya, Soloeis, and Panormus,⁴ "because from that quarter the voyage from Sicily to Carthage is shortest," would also lead one to suppose that one of the localities named by him was situated at the extreme western point of Sicily, and form an additional argument in favour of believing the present San Pantaleo to be the site of Motya.

This belief, indeed, appears to have been generally accepted during the past century. Captain, afterwards Admiral, Smyth, in his accurate work on Sicily, and more particularly on its hydrography, published in 1824,⁵ speaks at some length of San Pantaleo in the Stagnone of Marsala, and seems not to question the fact of its having been the site of ancient Motya. The French archæologist, the Duc de Luynes, also appears to have had no doubt on the subject, when writing a monograph on the island, after having sent Professor Gory, a celebrated geologist, to study the site in 1853.⁶ More recently, such authorities as Freeman, Holm, Schubring, Fischer, and Coglitore, writing on Sicily, have not failed to recognise the island of San Pantaleo as the site of Motya.

By some authorities it has been thought that the island of San Pantaleo is too small to have been the site of so important a town and colony as Motya. Tyre itself, however, stood on an island of apparently about the same size as San Pantaleo. It is true that part of Tyre, the older part, was situated on the adjacent mainland,

¹ D'Orville, *Sicula*, 1764.

² Houel, *Voy. pict. Sicile, etc.*, 1782.

³ Diod., xiv. 9.

⁴ Thuc., vi. 2.

⁵ Smyth, *Sicily and its Islands*.

⁶ De Luynes, *Recherches sur l'emplacement de l'ancienne ville de Motye*.

but the island Tyre seems to have been by far the most important portion of the town.

It is quite possible also, not to say probable, that the Motyans had factories on the Sicilian mainland opposite to their island settlement, and perhaps even on the projecting cape of Lilybæum itself, which it is difficult to believe could have remained unoccupied by them, being just the sort of locality usually selected by the Phœnician traders for their commercial settlements.

To the north we know they had a causeway or road connecting the island with the mainland,¹ and in the immediate vicinity of the spot to which this road leads an important necropolis existed, which can only have belonged to a large town like Motya. The causeway, we venture to think, can hardly have been constructed solely as a road to the necropolis, but probably served for communication and general traffic with the mainland; traffic, moreover, by means of wheeled vehicles, as shown by the deep wheel-ruts found in the pavement at the north entrance of the town of Motya. This being so, it is not unreasonable to suppose that, although Motya undoubtedly always preserved its character of an island town, it may have had buildings, such as factories and stores, for its commerce and industries on the opposite mainland. There may indeed possibly have been considerable intercourse between Motya and the surrounding country, extending even as far as Eryx itself. At the same time it must be admitted that there is nothing, so far, to show that such was the case, nor have the remains of any important buildings been found anywhere in the Birgi district or elsewhere on the adjacent mainland.

The small island upon which Motya stood, which is little more than two and a half kilometres in circumference, and in no part rises more than about six metres above the level of the sea, lies in the middle of a sheltered bay or lagoon, known as the "Stagnone di Marsala," so called from the town of that name which now occupies the site or a portion of the site of ancient Lilybæum.

The island, as may be seen by the map at the end of the

¹ Diod., xiv. 48.

volume, is more or less round in shape, though presenting a fairly straight frontage on its western end, for a certain distance, also on its southern side. The surface of the land is an undulating plain, slightly elevated at the centre and towards the northern end, and with depressions on the east and south-west sides.

At the present day numerous low and roughly built stone walls, bordered by cactus hedges, divide the area into fields of different shapes and sizes, while clumps of olive and almond trees, with isolated carobs and other hardy trees, probably self-sown, lend a picturesque and varied colouring to the landscape. The land, which is most fertile and at the present day produces excellent crops of corn, used formerly to be celebrated for the quality of its wine and of its figs. The subsoil is composed of a soft, friable tufa of a deep yellowish colour, but the outer crust in some parts is formed by a fairly hard rock of limestone.

Until quite recently a small hamlet, tenanted by the farmers owning the several holdings into which the land had been divided by the Marsala town authorities in the eighteenth century, was to be found on the island, together with a small church, which is still in existence at the present day. This little church has a rough oil-painting in it, showing the village under the visitation of a water-spout in the year 1857, a calamity from which, however, no fatal result occurred, owing, it is stated, to the interposition of the Holy Virgin and Child!

The inland bay of Motya is protected on the west, or sea side, by a long, low-lying island now called the Isola Lunga, or Isola Grande, which seems once to have been connected with the mainland at its northern extremity, forming a peninsula known in old times as the Aigithallos. It is now isolated by a channel measuring about five hundred metres in width.

The present Isola Lunga appears also at one time to have been subdivided, possibly by artificial channels or by salt-pans, into three portions, called respectively Borrone, Favilla, and Longa, each of which was thus almost an island in itself. The Byzantine name Cerdinisi seems also to have been applied to the last two collectively, even up to a comparatively recent date. Smyth, however, speaks of them as "Cernisi and Favilla, two long low

islets, connected by salt-works, and defended from predatory Moors by the towers of Villa Alta and Cuerisi.”¹

Besides Motya and the long spit of land now known as the Isola Lunga, two other islets are to be found in the “Stagnone,” one rather smaller than Motya, called Santa Maria, or, to give it its full name, Santa Maria di Valverde, the other a mere rock, called “La Scuola,” upon which has been built a lazaretto or quarantine hospital, so far, however, never yet used as such.

The “Stagnone,” so called from *stagno*, a shallow or marsh, measures about eleven kilometres in length, that is to say, from Marsala on the south to its extreme northern point at San Teodoro,² where lies the channel separating the Isola Lunga from the mainland, the width of the bay at its widest part being about three kilometres, or nearly two miles. The width of its southern outlet to the sea, between Marsala and the Isola Lunga, is about two thousand four hundred metres.

The greater part of this inland bay is of little depth, not averaging more than three or four feet, although a fairly wide channel of deeper water threads its way somewhat tortuously through one part of it, and is used by the lighters and similar craft which resort to the “Stagnone” for the purpose of loading the salt produced in the numerous salt-pans of the neighbourhood. In many parts of the bay the above-mentioned depth of three or four feet of water is not even reached, and when the tide is out and the water is, as the local boatmen and fishermen style it, “*secca*,” literally dry, as opposed to “*piena*” or full, navigation becomes difficult.

Between the northern shores of Motya and the opposite mainland the water is particularly shallow, and the remains of the ancient causeway or mole which once connected the two shores may plainly be seen below the surface. So shallow, indeed, is the water here, that carts constantly cross to and fro between the island and the mainland. As there is no suitable landing-place

¹ Smyth, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

² In the year 249 B.C., during the first Punic War, a fort was erected at San Teodoro by the consul L. Junius, as a base of operations against Lilybæum, the ruins of which fort are supposed to form part of the tower to be seen there at the present day.

anywhere on the Birgi coast, this mode of transit has an advantage over the journey by boat.

The country bordering this part of the Sicilian mainland coast is very flat, trending upward to the higher ground further inland in a gradual and very gentle slope, and no eminence of any importance is visible from Motya nearer than that of Mount Eryx, the modern Monte San Giuliano, which, rising straight out of the sea on the north, forms a conspicuous landmark.

Far out at sea, towards the west, lie Aigousa and its sister-islands, Phorbantia and Hiera, the Ægates, now known by the names of Favignana, Levanzo, and Marettimo, off which, in 241 B.C., was fought the great naval battle between Romans and Carthaginians which ended the war for the possession of Sicily, and left this island to the rule of the former power.

Returning to speak of the bay of Motya, it is quite possible that some changes in the relation of land to water along this coast may have taken place since the days of the Phœnicians, such as, for instance, the formation of the channel now existing between the present Isola Lunga and the opposite mainland shore at San Teodoro, as well as the filling up, on the other hand, of the channels which apparently once subdivided that island itself. It is also not improbable that other changes may have occurred along the coast of the mainland nearer Marsala, but it does not appear that the level of the bed of the Stagnone, or that of its islands, can have altered in the slightest degree since those times, or that any upheaval or subsidence of land can have taken place there, as thought by some authorities.

In support of this it may be stated that one finds the foundations of the Motya fortifications and other constructions along the shores of the island placed at a level at which they would probably be laid were they to be built now. The steps of a staircase leading down to the sea, on the east of the island, which were discovered in the course of recent excavations, demonstrate this very clearly, and, together with the other constructions on the shore, furnish a clue which enables us to come to the conclusion

that the level of the Stagnone and of its islands at the present day is the same as it was in the time of Motya.

On the other hand, however, it is equally probable, and indeed almost certain, that the depth of the sea in this inland bay, the so-called Stagnone, was considerably greater at one time than it is now. This would appear to be shown not only by the general indications of a gradual insilting or influx of mud and sand from the outer sea, preventing, among other things, access by boat to the former landing-places, but also by the discovery of loom-weights, pottery sherds, fragments of stags' antlers and other bones, as well as calcined stone, possibly the sweepings or refuse of kitchens, at a considerable depth below the level of the present bed of the sea. Such refuse material has been found at the foot of the staircase above referred to, at a depth of 1·26 m. below the lowest step of the stairs, that is to say, below the stratum of mud and accumulated detritus which forms the present sea-bottom in this spot.

That small craft and perhaps even boats of a fair size were able, in the old days, to approach this staircase and come right up to its lowest step, which lies about flush with the surface of the water at its normal level, seems most probable. They certainly could not do so now, nor even come within several metres of it, owing to the present shallow water.

There can, indeed, be little doubt that the Stagnone has gradually become considerably choked, and its depth of water consequently greatly diminished, by the steady accumulation of sand, mud, and weed from the outer sea, the growth of the latter, moreover, during the many centuries that this has continued, having become so luxuriant and all-invading as greatly to increase the difficulties of navigation. It is true that in some spots actual shoals or rock-reefs occur, but these are comparatively few, and the chief obstacle to free movement in these waters is constituted by the banks of algæ which extend, in dense masses, over the greater part of the bay.

That the Stagnone should be subject to this drawback is not surprising when one considers that it is practically a land-locked bay, with probably an unequal influx and reflux, owing to the disparity between its two mouths or outlets. To add to this,

moreover, another factor may contribute not a little, and this is a peculiar phenomenon, or condition of the sea, very prevalent off the southern coast of Sicily, commonly known as the *marobia*, during the occurrence of which the lower depths of the water are stirred up and large quantities of seaweed, mud, and sand are washed inland from the outer sea. The phenomenon is probably due to a contrast of winds at some distance off causing a temporary lull and calm, although this is usually followed by a gale. The word *marobia* may be derived from *mare* and *ubbriaco*, or "drunken sea," from the peculiar movement of the water during the occurrence of the phenomenon, or from *mare* and *rubra*, with reference to the reddish hue the sea assumes at this time, owing to the accumulation of stirred-up seaweed. An excellent and exhaustive description of the *marobia* is given by Smyth.¹

From what precedes, and bearing in mind the length of time that has elapsed since Dionysius brought his fleet into the bay of Motya, one will agree that it is, after all, only natural that some modification should have taken place in the depth of these waters; but, as explained, the change would seem to be one brought about by a gradual and perfectly normal process of nature, and not, as imagined by many, by some sudden volcanic disturbance. Had the latter been the case, the island of Motya itself should surely have been affected by such action as well as the bay around it.

To confute the theory entertained by Fischer² that since the third century B.C. the coast in this part of Sicily must have risen about five metres, it will suffice to state that the highest part of Motya itself is but little more than five or six metres above sea-level at the present day, while this elevation is not nearly reached by the other islands of the Stagnone, which would consequently, according to the above theory, simply have been non-existent as islands at the above-mentioned period!

In conclusion, it is satisfactory and of the highest importance thus to be able to establish with quasi-certainty the fact that, whatever changes may have occurred in the configuration of

¹ Smyth, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

² Theo. Fischer, *Beiträge zur phys. Geogr. der Mittelmeerländer, besonders Siciliens*, Leipzig, 1877, pp. II seqq.

Sicily in more remote times, no upheaval or subsidence, in this part of the coast at least, can have taken place during the past twenty-three centuries, or since the days of Motya.

It remains for us to allude to the origin and derivation of the name Motya, though it is difficult, not to say impossible, to tell for certain what this may have been, or to do more than conjecture as to its etymology. There can, however, we think, be little doubt that the root of the name is Phœnician, or at least Semitic. We find the word *môt* in Philo of Byblus' *Fragments*, when he talks of the creation of the world, and refers to the theory entertained by earlier writers regarding the formation and development of the universe. If the word *môt* in Hebrew means "primary matter," or, as Philo has it, "slime," or "a putrescence of watery secretion," the term might easily have been applied to what is commonly known as "ooze," or, in a more extended sense, to any low-lying shore abounding in marine vegetation, and thus to an island like Motya rising but little out of the sea and placed in the midst of seaweed-covered shallows.

The fable of a woman of the name of Motya having revealed the name of Eryx as the raider of Hercules' cattle,¹ in recompense for which service her name was bestowed on the island, has been quoted by various writers, and the figure of a woman's head which appears on some of the coins of Motya has been brought forward as an argument in support of the theory that this is the origin of the island's name. Little importance, however, can be attached to this, for the female head may equally, and indeed with far more probability, have been that of Astarte, or some other goddess.

Others, with good reason, seek the derivation of the name in the Hebrew word *motua*, signifying a loom, and argue that the name was given in consequence of the inhabitants of the island being great weavers. Certainly weaving must have been a common

¹ A district situated a few miles outside the present town of Trapani and below St Julian's Mount is still known as the *Campo d'Ercole*, though the origin of the name does not now appear to be generally known, as it apparently was even up to the end of the eighteenth century. Houel, writing in 1782 (*Voyage pittoresque des îles de Sicile, Malte et Lipari*, i. 16), and describing his journey from Trapani to Marsala, says: "On passe près le champ d'Hercule, lieu où l'on croit encore aujourd'hui que Hercule luttâ contre Eryx et gagna un royaume, en tuant ce monarque qui avait fait de ses états le prix de la victoire."

industry at Motya, judging from the large number of loom-weights found on the island, and it is quite possible that this may have been the true etymology of the name.

The second of the three great Phœnician colonies in North-west Sicily, following the order in which they are mentioned by Thucydides, was Soloeis, or Solous, as called by the Greeks, and Soluntum by the Romans, which names are supposed to be derived from the Semitic word *sela*, "the rock," or, according to some, "the city of the rock."

The site of this settlement is on a low hill lying to the south-east of the bay of Palermo, and within about nine miles of the town of that name, the ancient Panormus, its sister-colony in Phœnician times. This hill overlooks the bay of Palermo on one side and the bay of Termini on the other, and stands between the more lofty Monte Catalfano on the south-west and Cape Zafferana on the north-east, the bold headland which forms the south-eastern horn of the bay of Palermo.

The actual site of the town of Solous was apparently on the south-eastern slope of the hill, and not at the top, though within a short distance of it. The city was thus sheltered on the north and the north-west sides, and yet, being near the summit of the hill, it must have held a commanding position. Outposts and fortifications were probably placed on the top of the hill, as well as around it, except perhaps on that side where a precipitous descent may have rendered such precautions unnecessary. This, however, is but conjecture, for no walls or traces of fortifications are to be met with at the present day. No Phœnician remains, indeed, of any nature whatever are to be found on the site: those that have been discovered are Roman; the paved streets, the buildings, cisterns, and other ruins are all Roman, or Roman modified by Greek influence. The Greeks apparently only occupied Solous for a very short period, in 396 B.C., when the town, it is said, was betrayed into the hands of Dionysius. It was shortly afterwards retaken by the Carthaginians, and finally passed into the possession of the Romans when Panormus was conquered by them.

The date of the disappearance of Solous from history is unknown,

but it was presumably before the Norman occupation of Sicily, no mention being made of it in the records of that time. Nothing now remains to mark the site of the ancient Phœnician settlement except the Roman ruins above mentioned, although the old name seems to have been perpetuated, and a modern fishing village, which has sprung up on the coast to the south-east of the hill of Solous, bears the name of Solanto, no doubt taken from the older name.

Judging from its position, Solous could hardly have been a trading station at any time, but probably served as an outpost of some other settlement on the sea-coast close by, or possibly even of the more distant Panormus itself. It is, in any case, reasonable to suppose that it had a haven or harbour near at hand, either on the one side or on the other side of the hill. Near the present village of Portici, to the south-east of Solous, a small bay affords good anchorage.

After the withdrawal of the Phœnicians to the north-west of Sicily, Solous remained their most easterly possession in the island, and, as such, it will doubtless have been still more strongly fortified, with the view of resisting any hostile attack.

Coming now to Panormus, the modern Palermo and capital of Sicily, although the name by which it was generally known in ancient times is Greek, there is no reason to believe, even for a moment, as has been suggested, that the town was of Greek origin, or that it was anything but Phœnician from the beginning. Its true Phœnician name appears to be uncertain: the names of Machanath or Machanat, and of Mackoshbim, as well as that of Ziz, have been suggested for it, but there is no evidence to show that any one of them is the right name, and for the present the matter must remain an open question.

Of Panormus in the time of the Phœnicians but little is known, less, probably, than is known of Motya; but the site was presumably chosen by the shrewd settlers on account of its remarkable and excellent natural ports, and the facilities they offered for trading purposes. The harbours of Panormus, the "All-haven," were, in fact, just what suited the Phœnicians, and were probably, as

stated by Diodorus,¹ the finest and the best occupied by them in the whole of Sicily. At the same time, however, there is no evidence to show that Panormus was ever of great importance in the days of the early Phœnicians in Sicily, or that it was, in any way, the equal of the western stronghold of Motya. It was only at a later period, after the fall of Motya and the development of Carthaginian power in Sicily, that Panormus became the head of Punic rule in the island, although, even then, Lilybæum, Motya's successor, was always the main bulwark of the state, and the seat of diplomatic conference between Rome and Carthage.

The site of Panormus in old days was evidently very different from what it is now, and the changes that have taken place in the relation of land and water in this particular spot are considerable.²

The present-day small port called "La Cala" is, indeed, all that now remains of the two harbours or havens which once existed here, one on either side of the long, narrow tongue of land projecting into the sea, on which stood the principal portion of the old town.

These two creeks, or arms of the sea, judging from ancient maps and the descriptions we have of them, must once, and even as recently as the fourteenth century, have penetrated for a considerable distance inland. After this date they appear to have been gradually filled in, either purposely, or, as seems more probable, and as above mentioned, by the soil washed down by streams running into them from the fertile valley of the Agro Panormitano, the so-called "Conca d'Oro." The present principal port of Palermo is in quite another spot, being at the northern end of the town, below Monte Pellegrino, the ancient Ercta, once the stronghold of a Carthaginian camp under Hamilcar, which had its haven in the little bay lying at its northern foot, the present bay of Mondello.

Although the present harbour of Palermo is by no means the

¹ Diod., xxii. 14.

² As at Motya, these changes have not been caused by volcanic action, but have probably been brought about by a gradual and natural process, with this difference, however, viz. that whereas at Motya the change has been effected by insilting from the outer sea, at Panormus it has probably been due chiefly, if not entirely, to alluvial soil brought down by streams from inland.

best in Sicily, the bay of Palermo is certainly a very fine one, and for beauty may be said to rival, if not surpass, that of Naples.

Near its southern horn lies the rocky hill where once stood Solous, guarding, as it were, the approach to its sister-town, and the eastern frontier of Phœnician Sicily.

As in the case of Solous, here again at Panormus all traces of the Phœnician city have disappeared ; not a single building remains, not even a stone, which can confidently be called Phœnician. All has been swept away by the tide of conquest, and the ever-changing rule to which this island has been subjected. Panormus has been the temporary home, in succession, of Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Greeks, Romans, Saracens, and Normans, as well as of later peoples, all, in their turn, living here and passing away, and, except in the case of the Saracens and Normans, leaving but few traces of their occupation behind them.

CHAPTER V

THE GREEKS IN SICILY—THEIR CONFLICTS WITH THE PHŒNICIANS AND CARTHAGINIANS PRIOR TO 397 B.C.

BEFORE speaking of the conflicts which took place in Sicily between the Greeks and the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, conflicts in the course of which Motya, after a heroic and stubborn resistance on the part of her defenders, ultimately succumbed and ceased to exist, it may be well to give a brief sketch of the Greek invasion of Sicily and of the establishment of Hellenic rule throughout the greater part of the island.

Following in the steps of the Æolians, who first visited the shores of Italy and founded the colony of Cumæ in Campania, although long after them, settlers from Chalcis in Eubœa, and from the island of Naxos, one of the Cyclades, headed by Theocles, landed on the east coast of Sicily in the year 735 B.C., and established themselves in a spot situated below the hill of Taurus, the site in later times of Tauromenium, the modern Taormina. To the new settlement they gave the name of Naxos, after the above-mentioned island, and, driving away the original Sicel inhabitants, fortified the town strongly and, outside its walls, erected an altar to Apollo Archegetes, their patron deity and leader, which altar was held in great veneration by the Greeks generally throughout Sicily.

Here, as in many other spots in the island seized upon by the Greeks, signs of a previous occupation by Phœnicians, or, in any case, of Phœnician influence, appear to have existed, for not far distant from the altar just mentioned was another sanctuary, one dedicated to Aphrodite, perhaps the Phœnician Ashtoreth.

In the following year, 734 B.C., a band of Corinthians, under

Archias, one of the Heraclidæ, probably of the noble family of Bacchiads, founded Syracuse, or Syracuse, expelling the Sicels from the little island of Ortygia, and perhaps also the Phœnicians, who may possibly have had a trading settlement here.

Syracuse, the chief town of Sicily during its early life-history, was also, for a considerable while, the greatest of all Hellenic as well as of all European cities, not only in point of size and power, but also on account of its enterprise, its resources, its art, and its general importance. It was, indeed, for a time, the head of European power, and its representative as opposed to the so-called barbaric world.

The site of Syracuse, of the original settlement founded by Archias on the small island of Ortygia, was well chosen. An islet, almost a peninsula, with a commodious harbour on either side, formed an ideal site for the new colony; but presently that colony grew to such a size that it was found necessary to occupy other territory adjoining it. In course of time Syracuse, in its different quarters or townships, spread over the whole of the higher ground stretching between the island Ortygia and the hills which encircle it landwards. First, after Ortygia, came Achradina, on the eastern portion of the headland between the bay known as the Great Harbour of Syracuse and the bay of Trogilus to the north; then Tycha and Neapolis, to the west of this; and finally Epipolæ, still further west, extending as far as Euryalus. Polichna, an outpost on the west of the Great Harbour, must have been occupied at an early period, possibly from the very first. Near Polichna the river Anapus meets its tributary the Cyane, and shortly afterwards empties itself into the Great Harbour. Further back is the marsh Syracô, from which Syracuse is supposed by some to have taken its name. The southern horn of the Great Harbour is formed by the promontory of Plemmyrium.

To give an idea of the extent of the area comprised within the walls of Syracuse, exclusive of Ortygia and Neapolis, it may be mentioned that, according to Cavallari,¹ the distance, in a straight line, between Ortygia and Cape Panagia, the northernmost point of the headland on which stood Achradina, is 4100 metres,

¹ F. S. Cavallari, *Sulla topografia di alcune città greche in Sicilia*, p. 44.

while that between the easternmost point of the headland and the castle of Euryalus, on the west, is 7100 metres, the total superficies of this area being about thirteen million square metres.

It has been calculated that over forty million cubic metres of stone were extracted from the Latomie of Syracuse for the building of its different towns, without counting the quantity of stone produced by other quarries solely for the construction of the fortifications.

In the year 728 B.C. the Naxians, under Theocles and Evarchus, founded two other colonies in Eastern Sicily—Leontini, the present Lentini, and Catana, now Catania, both originally Sicel possessions, and not far from each other, though Catana was situated on the coast, and Leontini a little way inland. Two other smaller settlements, Callipolis and Eubœa, appear also to have been founded by the Chalcidians about this time, but very little is recorded of them, their sites even being unknown.

In the meantime fresh colonists from Megara in Greece, under the command of Lamis, arrived on the east coast of Sicily, and, about the year 728 B.C., attempted to found a settlement at a place called Trotilus, near the river Pantacyas; but, driven thence by the Sicels, they first found a home with the Chalcidians at Leontini, and then removed to Thapsus, now Magnisi, north of Syracuse, where Lamis died. Finally, with the help, or rather through the treachery, of Hyblon, a Sicel king, they succeeded in establishing themselves in a spot between Thapsus and Xiphonia, to which they gave the name of Megara, the new city being distinguished from that of the mother-country by the surname of Hyblæa, derived from the city of Hybla, or the greater Hybla, not far distant. Xiphonia is the peninsula on which now stands the modern town of Augusta, and it is somewhat strange that this excellent site should not have been chosen by the Greek settlers, unless, indeed, as has been suggested, it was already occupied by a strong Sicel settlement. It was just the sort of place to attract colonists arriving on the coast, and would undoubtedly have been pitched on by the Phœnicians had it been unoccupied.

According to Thucydides, the Megarians were expelled from

their settlement after 245 years' occupation, by Gelon, Tyrant of Syracuse.

The Greek occupation of the eastern coast of the island was completed by the establishment of a settlement at the northern extremity of that side, which was called Zanclé, afterwards Messana, the modern Messina. The oldest form of the name appears to have been Danklé, if we are to judge from the coins found of this city previous to its newer name of Messana. The name Zanclé is supposed to be derived from the Sicel word *zanclon* or *danklon*, "a sickle," and was given on account of the shape of the harbour of the town. The exact date of the foundation of Zanclé is uncertain, but it was probably about the year 715 B.C. Pirates from Cumæ are said to have been its original founders, but a second and better-organised settlement was shortly afterwards established by regular colonists from Cumæ and Chalcis. The excellent position of Zanclé induces one to suppose that the site could not have failed to have been previously occupied, either by Sicels or by Phœnicians, and the name of the place itself points to Sicel possession. Although an important city, Zanclé does not appear to have held a foremost place in Greek times.

Mylæ, the modern Milazzo, was probably founded by settlers from Zanclé within a short time after the foundation of Zanclé itself. It stood on a peninsula on the northern coast, on the other side of Cape Pelorus, and not far distant from Zanclé; but it does not seem to have been a very important settlement, or much more than an outpost of that town.

A lull now ensued in the tide of Greek colonisation in Sicily, the attention of the Hellenes being devoted instead to the south of the Italian peninsula, where numerous settlements were established by them towards the end of the eighth century before Christ. Shortly afterwards, however, fresh settlers from Greece again visited Sicily, and, as the greater part of the east coast was already occupied by their countrymen, the colonisation of the newcomers was chiefly carried out in the south of the island.

In the year 688 B.C. a mixed band of Rhodians and Cretans founded Lindii, by the mouth of the river Gela or Gelus, the name of the new town, however, being subsequently changed for

that of Gela, the site of the modern Terranova, which shortly assumed considerable importance, becoming even a rival of Syracuse itself. Gela and its neighbourhood were undoubtedly Sicel possessions at one time, but it is possible the Phœnicians may also have been there before the Greeks, although the site was not exactly of the description usually chosen by them.

The country all around Gela, the Geloan Fields, appears to have been remarkably fertile, and the celebrity of the place was probably due in great part to this fact.

Syracuse, now wishing to extend her possessions, struck inland in a southerly or south-westerly direction, and founded Acræ, now Palazzuolo, as also Casmenæ, now Spaccaforo, in 664 B.C. Camarina was founded some years later, say, 599 B.C., about which period several Sicel towns appear also to have fallen under Syracusan rule.

Zanclé also, about the middle of the fifth century, assisted by some exiles from Syracuse, ventured further afield—far, indeed, from any existing Hellenic possession in Sicily,—and founded Himera, the only Greek settlement of any importance on the north coast of Sicily. No date is assigned by Thucydides for the foundation of Himera, but, from what we are told, we are able to fix it at about the year 648 B.C. The name of the town was taken, no doubt, from that of the river Himera, close by, the northern Himera, not far from which were the celebrated hot springs, the Thermæ of Himera, the site of the modern town of Termini.

Meanwhile Megara Hyblæa, having grown in power, was also able to send out colonists, and in 628 B.C., under the leadership of Pamillus, a native of the old Megara, founded Selinus, or Selinunte,¹ the most westerly of all the Greek settlements in Sicily.

As the western outpost and bulwark of Hellenic power in Sicily, Selinus, during its comparatively short life, little more than

¹ The generally accepted derivation of the name Selinus is the Greek *σελίνον*, the name of a plant, probably wild parsley, which is abundant on the south-west coast of Sicily. By those who would seek a Phœnician origin for the name, the same derivation as that of Solous, on the north coast, has been preferred, viz. *sela*, or "a rock." Selinus, it is true, stands on a cliff above the sea, but the eminence is not a lofty one, and is hardly comparable with the hill of Solous.

two hundred years, must have attained a position, in some ways, unrivalled by that of any other Greek city at that time. To judge from its ruins, its wealth and magnificence must have been great, and its art of a high standard of excellence.

Situated on the sea-coast, facing Carthage, Selinus no doubt owed its prosperity and importance, in great part, to its trade and commercial intercourse with that great centre, such business relations being facilitated by its chief seaport and emporium at the mouth of the river Mazarus, the boundary between Greek and Phœnician territory, near which is the site of the present town of Mazzara.

The actual site of the town of Selinus, placed on a ridge between two valleys, through which run the streams—one can hardly call them rivers—Selinus and Hypsas, now the Maddiuni and the Gonusa, seems hardly one to commend itself for a large town; but the territory of Selinus extended far beyond the limits of the town itself, and on the north joined that of the Segestans, while eastward it reached as far as its own hot springs, the Thermæ Selinuntinæ, the site of the modern town of Sciacca.

Still further east, the Selinuntines, under the command of Euryleon, the only survivor of the leaders of the ill-fated Dorieus expedition, founded Heraclea Minoa, near the mouth of the river Halicus, the modern Fiume Platani, afterwards to become celebrated as the Carthaginian Ras-Melkart.

Besides its chief port at Mazzara, and its two minor harbours at the mouths of the Selinus and Hypsas, Selinus had a fourth port at a spot some four kilometres to the west, which is now called Porto Palo, near which tombs of a Greek type have been found, thus indicating the existence of habitations there.¹

The celebrated quarries of Rocca di Cusa, whence came the material employed for building the great temples of Selinus, are situated some five or six miles to the north-west, and not far from the present town of Campobello. Numerous cylindrical blocks, intended for the drums of columns, some of great size, as well as other large pieces of stonework for buildings, may still be seen here, lying in an unfinished state. One may imagine what labour must

¹ F. S. Cavallari, *Sulla topografia di alcune città greche di Sicilia*, p. 114.

have been required to transport these immense blocks over several miles of rough land.

One of the latest Greek cities to be founded in Sicily, the latest, indeed, of the old Hellenic settlements, was Acragas, afterwards Agrigentum, the modern Girgenti. Founded by Gela 580 B.C., its development, a wonderfully rapid one, considering its short life, soon assumed such proportions as to assure it a position second only to that of Syracuse itself. Next in importance to that town, it was its rival in many ways, and often its enemy, although occasionally also its ally.

The site of Acragas, perched as it was on a hilltop, may not unlikely have previously been occupied by the Sicans, but hardly by the Phœnicians. It is situated on the south of the island, about half way between Gela itself and Selinus, and is distant some four kilometres from the sea.

It is encircled by the two rivers Acragas and Hypsas, the modern Fiume San Biagio and Fiume Drago, which unite a little before running into the sea, at a spot where the haven of Acragas probably was. The harbour of the present Girgenti, Porto Empedocle so called, lies further west.

The Æolian Islands, off the north-east of Sicily, were also visited by the Greeks about this time, and a colony was established by them at Lipara, the largest of the group, the so-called Fire Islands. This settlement was effected by the survivors of the Pentathlos expedition, 580 B.C., after its defeat near Lilybæum, of which further mention will be made later on.

Hellenic rule was now fairly established on the greater part of the Sicilian coast, with the exception of that occupied by the Phœnicians on the north-west of the island, the barbarian corner, as it was called.

On the north coast, it is true, there was only one real Greek settlement, the Sicels occupying most of the territory between Himera and Mylæ; but the eastern and southern coasts were now absolutely in the possession of Hellas.

Such was the position of affairs in Sicily at the commencement of the sixth century before Christ, and for a considerable period comparative peace reigned throughout the land, the Greeks

strengthening their hold on the positions occupied by them, and the Phœnicians and their allies living peacefully in the north-west corner of the island.

As stated by Thucydides, on the arrival of the Greeks in Sicily, the Phœnicians "evacuated the greater part of their settlements and lived in Motya, Soloeis, and Panormus."¹ The settlements evacuated were presumably not of great importance, or sufficiently powerful to offer much resistance to the newcomers; they were probably not true or permanent colonies, but merely temporary settlements, such as factories and trading stations, some of them being possibly adjoining or even in the midst of Sicel communities. Be this as it may, however, they were apparently abandoned without any opposition being made, the Phœnicians receding as the Greeks advanced, and finally withdrawing altogether to the north-western or "the barbarian" corner of Sicily. In this part of the island no attempt at settlement took place on the part of the Greeks, nor was any approach even made by them to its immediate neighbourhood during the earlier period. A tacit understanding seemed to exist between the two peoples as to the territory belonging to each, and, for a time at any rate, the land was big enough to hold both. So long, indeed, as the older Phœnician colonies in Sicily remained independent, conflicts between them and the Greeks were comparatively few, and, in most cases, of slight importance. Petty warfare and disagreements between them no doubt existed more or less continually, but it was only later on, when Carthage rose in power and attempted to assert her sway over Sicily, that the great struggles ensued which converted the once peaceful Mediterranean island into one huge battlefield.

It is not until the very close of Greek colonisation in Sicily that we hear of the two nations meeting in open warfare. This was about the year 580 B.C., when a band of Rhodians and Cnidians, under Pentathlos, a native of Cnidos, attempted to establish a settlement near Lilybæum, close to the Phœnician colony of Motya. Finding a war going on at that time between the

¹ Thuc., vi. 2.

Selinuntines and the Elymians of Segesta, with the latter of whom the Phœnicians were allied, the newcomers joined their fellow-countrymen, but with them were defeated, their leader Pentathlos being also killed.

The next encounter we hear of between Greeks and Phœnicians was in 510 B.C., when Dorieus, son of the Spartan king Anaxandrides, accompanied by other prominent Spartans, among them the handsome Philippus of Croton, came to Sicily, with the object of recovering the lands of his forefather Hercules, in the neighbourhood of Eryx, and there founding a new Heraclea. On his way to Sicily, however, as the story goes, failing to comply at once with the bidding of the Delphic oracle, Dorieus halted in order to assist the men of Croton in a war they were waging against Sybaris. For this neglect, fortune was adverse to him on reaching Eryx, for he was there defeated and killed in a battle against the Phœnicians and Elymians.¹

The expedition, however, was not entirely fruitless, for one of Dorieus' followers, by name Euryleon, the only one left of the leaders of the party, gathering together the survivors of the encounter near Eryx, went to assist the Selinuntines against their despotic ruler, a tyrant called Pythagoras, and, finally overthrowing him, eventually himself assumed the tyranny of Selinus. In the course of the war against Pythagoras, Euryleon occupied the outpost of Minoa, between Selinus and Agrigentum, founding a town there, and calling it Heraclea, thus carrying out, in some way, the object of the original expedition. As already stated earlier in this chapter, Heraclea Minoa afterwards became famous as the Carthaginian Ras-Melkart, a powerful military stronghold.

Following some time after this, we hear of a war to avenge the death of Dorieus, in which the new town of Heraclea was destroyed by the Phœnicians, or Carthaginians, and it was no doubt about this time that Selinus became a dependent, though probably an unwilling ally of the barbarians.

Comparatively little, however, appears to be known regarding

¹ Of Dorieus and his expedition to Sicily we have an excellent account in Herodotus (Herod., v. 42 *seq.*). Three years previous to this expedition Dorieus visited Lybia, and actually founded a colony there, but was eventually driven away by the native tribes, assisted by the Phœnicians previously established there.

this war, in which Gelon claimed to have taken part, and to have brought to an end by a treaty, thus preventing the further advance of the barbarians into Greek territory.

The Phœnician colonies of Sicily had now, more than ever, come under the protecting ægis of their mighty sister-city in Africa, and Carthaginian power commenced to assert itself more openly than it had done in the past. Acting, as we are told, in accordance with a preconcerted arrangement with Persia, the other great ruling power of the day, Carthage shortly commenced her preparations for an attack on Sicilian Hellas, while the eastern potentate Xerxes, at the head of a powerful army, advanced on the mother-country of Greece. The latter is said to have applied to Gelon, Tyrant of Syracuse, for assistance, but this was out of the question, seeing how Greek Sicily at this moment required the whole of her forces for self-defence.

Carthage now despatched a strong force, composed, it is said, of no less than 300,000 men and over 2300 ships, besides transports, under the command of Hamilcar, to the north coast of Sicily. Owing to a violent storm during the voyage, the vessels carrying the horses and chariots were lost, but the remainder of the fleet reached Panormus safely, and, after three days spent in recruiting the men and repairing the ships, sailed thence for Himera, while the troops marched there by land. Theron, who was then ruling at Himera, sallied forth against the enemy, but was defeated. Gelon, however, having been informed by Theron of the arrival of the Carthaginians, at once hastened to the rescue, and gained a signal victory over the Carthaginians, their general, Hamilcar, being slain in the battle, or, according to another version, having put an end to his life by throwing himself into the flames of a sacrificial altar.

Gelon appears to have conducted this battle with great generalship, and, having been fortunate enough to intercept a messenger from the Selinuntines bringing the information of their being about to send a body of horsemen to the assistance of Hamilcar, he availed himself of the knowledge to obtain an entrance into the enemy's camp, simulating the Selinuntines with a party of his own horsemen. This battle, according to Herodotus,¹ was

¹ Herod., vi. 165-167.

fought on the very same day as that of Salamis in Greece, in 480 B.C., a remarkable coincidence, if true. A peace appears to have been shortly after concluded between the Greeks and Carthaginians, by which the latter were bound to pay two thousand talents as a war indemnity, and submit to other conditions imposed by the victors: foremost among them was that of the abolition of the practice of human sacrifice so prevalent until then among the Carthaginians. Montesquieu rightly calls this treaty unique in the annals of history.¹

The victory of Himera greatly increased the prestige of Gelon, and raised him to a position unequalled, in many ways, by that of any other despot in Sicily. During his comparatively short reign as Tyrant, Syracuse became the head of the Greek cities in the island, a position which she maintained after his death. This occurred in the year 478 B.C., or two years after his great victory against Carthage, his loss being sincerely mourned by the Syracusans, to whom his kind and paternal rule had greatly endeared him.

Gelon was succeeded as Tyrant of Syracuse by his brother Hieron, who, although not possessed of the great qualities and personality of his predecessor, nevertheless upheld the power and position of Syracuse.

He, in his turn, was succeeded by his younger brother Thrasybulus, the last of the four sons of the elder Deinomenes, whose reign, however, lasted but a short time, for the Syracusans very soon rose against him, and, after a hard fight, succeeded in deposing him. The other Greek cities in Sicily followed the example of Syracuse, becoming independent commonwealths, and despotism, for a while, ceased to exist in the island.

Towards the middle of the fifth century B.C. some war appears to have taken place over a question of border-land rights in the west of Sicily, and from a contemporary inscription found at Selinus we learn that this city gained a victory over some enemy about this period. Whether Motya was that enemy, or Motya and Segesta allied together, perhaps against Selinus and Agrigentum, it is difficult to say, and the question remains an open one.²

¹ Montesqu., *Esprit des lois*, x. 5.

² This question is gone into more exhaustively in Chapter VII. of this Part.

About that time the Sicels, under their great chief Ducetius, attempted to assert themselves, and, for a while, were fairly successful, obtaining some victories over the Greeks, among others one over a combined army of Agrigentines and Syracusans, who had come to the rescue of Motyum, a fortress in the Agrigentine territory, which had been besieged by the Sicels. Ducetius, however, was shortly afterwards completely routed, and, suing for his life, was banished to Corinth, from whence, breaking his word of honour, he returned a few years later. His death, however, followed soon after, and the Sikel league was broken up in the year 446 B.C.

During a period of twenty years following this, peace reigned generally throughout Sicily, bringing with it prosperity and wealth to her cities, and enabling their inhabitants to turn their attention not only to commerce and to the development of the country, but also to literature and the fine arts.

On the breaking out of the Peloponnesian War, in 431 B.C., the Sicilian Greeks, though allied with either one or the other of the contending parties, prudently refrained from taking an active part in the conflict, contenting themselves with watching the development of events in the mother-country and expressing sympathy with their respective kinsmen. At home, however, they seem to have been at enmity and to have quarrelled a good deal amongst themselves, until Hermocrates, one of the leading men of the day in Sicily, in a congress held at Gela, sensibly pointed out the folly of this behaviour and counselled a general peace being made. This was agreed on in 424 B.C.

Some eight years later, in consequence of a dispute between the Elymians of Segesta and the Selinuntines as to a question of border lands and marriage rights, the former sent an embassy to Athens to beg for assistance, basing their request on a treaty they had made with that city in 427 B.C.

This opportunity of punishing Syracuse, which had been supporting Selinus, and, at the same time, of carrying out their long-cherished idea of obtaining a footing in Sicily, appealed to the Athenians. Acting on the advice of Alcibiades, envoys were sent to Segesta to investigate matters and report on the

prudence and advisability of responding to the Segestans' appeal for help.

The return of the envoys with an exaggerated, not to say false, report of the wealth of Segesta,¹ combined with the insistence of Alcibiades and the war party in Athens, overruled the more prudent counsels of the Athenian general Nicias, and led to the despatch of the celebrated but ill-fated expedition to Sicily, which resulted in the total defeat of the Athenians, with an enormous loss of life and war material.

The story of this, the greatest of all contests between Greeks and Greeks, and, at the same time, one of the chief events in the history of Syracuse, has been ably and fully treated by various writers on Sicily, notably so by Freeman.² It therefore needs no comment here, except perhaps it be that one may venture to think that, had the fortunes of Athens at this time been in the hands of more able and competent statesmen and rulers, the result of the war might have been very different, and the subsequent history of Sicily consequently considerably, if not entirely, modified.

During the Athenian invasion, and for a short time afterwards, peace appears to have reigned between the Greeks and Phœnicians in Sicily, Carthage, indeed, having found it prudent to keep quiet ever since its defeat at Himera in 480 B.C.

The Segestans and Selinuntines, however, were still at variance amongst themselves with regard to their border lands, and in the year 410 B.C. the former, unable now to obtain help from Athens, appealed, as they had done once before, though in vain, to Carthage for assistance. Their appeal was this time successful. Carthage sent envoys to remonstrate with Selinus, and diplomatically suggested the arbitration of Syracuse, which the Selinuntines refused. This was exactly what the Carthaginians desired, for it ensured the neutrality of the Syracusans, and in 409 B.C. a powerful Carthaginian army, under Hannibal, a grandson of the Hamilcar who died at Himera, landed at Lilybæum, and, leaving its ships at Motya,

¹ In order to create a favourable impression on the Athenians regarding their wealth, it is said, the Segestans gave numerous banquets, at which a great display of gold and silver plate was made; but, though the banquets were in different houses, the vessels employed were always the same, being passed on from one host to another!

² Freeman, *Sicily*, iii. 798 *seqq.*

immediately advanced on Selinus. After ten days of uninterrupted fighting, this town was taken by the Carthaginians, and completely destroyed, many of its inhabitants being put to the sword, while some were spared to be sold as slaves, and a few escaped. From Selinus the Carthaginians marched to Himera, which at first, assisted by Syracuse, now roused to activity, and no longer neutral, resisted for a few days, but was finally taken and completely destroyed by the victorious Hannibal, who, after still further avenging the defeat of his grandfather Hamilcar by the sacrifice of three thousand Greek prisoners, returned to Carthage.

For the next few years dissatisfaction and internal strife seem to have prevailed at Syracuse, culminating in the overthrow of Diocles and the death of the great Hermocrates, and eventually in the re-establishment of despotic rule under Dionysius the First, son of another Hermocrates.

Carthage now, roused by the raiding of the lands of Motya and Panormus, which had been carried out by Hermocrates shortly before his death, and encouraged by her recent successes at Selinus and Himera, determined on a fresh invasion of Sicily. In 406 B.C. a Carthaginian army of 150,000 men, under the command of Hannibal and Himilco, landed at Motya, or, as seems more likely, on the mainland near it, and shortly afterwards advanced on Agrigentum. A siege of several weary months now ensued, the beleaguered party, under the command of Daphnæus, aided by Dexippus, a Spartan, being sufficiently strong to oppose a determined resistance to the enemy; and at one time, sickness breaking out among the Carthaginian forces, and carrying off Hannibal himself among other victims, fortune seemed inclined to favour the Greeks. Finally, however, the Carthaginian ships having captured a convoy bringing supplies to Agrigentum, Himilco's army was restored to health and strength, and able to maintain the siege, while provisions ran short in the besieged city. The order was given to evacuate the town by night, and the following morning Agrigentum was in the hands of the Carthaginians.

After spending the winter at Agrigentum, Himilco marched on Gela, which, after holding out bravely for a time, was treacherously abandoned by Dionysius, and fell into the hands of the

Carthaginians, as did shortly afterwards Camarina. The behaviour of Dionysius throughout this campaign was that of an arch-traitor to his country, but by posing as its liberator, and being at the head of the powerful democratic party, he succeeded in attaining his end and establishing himself more firmly as despot at Syracuse.

A treaty was now made between Himilco and Dionysius, by which Carthage was to retain all her former possessions and dependencies in the west of the island, together with Selinus, Agrigentum, and Thermaë, the new Himera, while Gela and Camarina were to be unfortified towns tributary to Carthage; the Sicel towns, as well as Leontini and Messana, to be autonomous. On the other hand, Carthage undertook to recognise and support the dominion of Dionysius over Syracuse. The terms of this treaty were undoubtedly most advantageous to Carthage, but the wily Dionysius had his reasons for agreeing thereto, wishing for the support of Carthage until he had firmly and completely established his rule at home, after which he counted on being strong enough to pursue a very different course.

For the next few years Dionysius devoted himself to consolidating his power and authority throughout his dominions, one of his first acts being to strengthen his position at Syracuse itself, and to provide for his personal safety, by fortifying the whole island of Ortygia in such a way as to render it practically impregnable. Shortly afterwards, however, considering himself secure at home, he commenced to show his true colours, and, disregarding the terms of his treaty with Carthage, he made war on the Sicels, laying siege first to the Sicel town of Herbessus, possibly, if not probably, the site of Pantalica.

A revolt of his army now breaking out, he was compelled to return to Syracuse, where he was on the point of being overcome and deposed, and was only saved by the assistance of a strong body of Campanian mercenaries, then in the service of Carthage, who came to his rescue and enabled him to quell the revolt and regain his authority.

Not long after this Dionysius appears to have attacked another Sicel town, Herbita, probably the modern Sperlinga, situated much further north, but met with a repulse.

Herbita, about this time, under its ruler Archonides, had become powerful, and soon afterwards founded the new town of Alæsa, near the sea-coast, some fifteen miles to the east of the present town of Cefalù and close to the small town of Tusa.

Later on the Syracusan Tyrant attacked and overcame, in succession, the towns of Catana, Leontini, and Naxos, completely destroying the last-mentioned, the oldest Greek town of Sicily. About the same time Dionysius diplomatically ingratiated himself with Locri, Rhegium, and Messana, and himself married a daughter of one of the chief residents of the first-mentioned town.¹

The power and authority of Dionysius were now indisputable, while Syracuse had attained a position of importance such as it had never held before. In addition to providing for the defence of the town by strongly fortifying it at all points, Dionysius had not in the meanwhile neglected to make elaborate preparations for taking the offensive in the war he was planning against Carthage. Mercenaries were hired from all parts for the army, and ships were built larger than any previously known, while war-engines of various descriptions were constructed, among others the catapult, now heard of for the first time. A vast accumulation of war material was collected, and no pains or expense were spared in order to render both army and navy as complete in their equipment as was possible. Everything, in short, was done to ensure success for the blow the Syracusan Tyrant meditated dealing at Carthaginian power.

¹ Although entirely contrary to Greek usage, Dionysius, on the very same day he married his Locrian wife, by name Doris, also married Aristomachè, the daughter of one of his chief friends at Syracuse. Like Dionysius, the Spartan king Anaxandrides, father of Dorieus, hero of the Sicilian expedition, much against his own will, but by the advice of his state counsellors, also appears to have contracted a double marriage, and, like the Syracusan Tyrant, to have lived with two wives at the same time. (Herod., v. 39-41.)

CHAPTER VI

THE SIEGE AND FALL OF MOTYA

IN the year 397 B.C.¹ Dionysius, having completed his military preparations, convened an assembly and announced his intention of making war on Carthage, the moment, he urged, being propitious on account of the pestilence which had recently ravaged that country and weakened its resources.

An envoy was despatched to Carthage to declare war unless that state should agree to give up all the Greek cities it held in Sicily; but, without waiting for an answer, the inhabitants of Syracuse and other Greek towns rose against the Carthaginian residents and put them to the sword, seizing their property.

Dionysius' first war with Carthage had now commenced. The Tyrant, with a large army of Syracusans, mercenaries, and auxiliaries, set forth for the north-west corner of Sicily, marching along the south coast, while a powerful fleet, composed of nearly two hundred warships with five hundred transport vessels, sailed at the same time to support him in his campaign.

Along his line of march Dionysius passed by the Greek towns of Camarina, Gela, Acragas, and Selinus, all of which had either come under the rule of Carthage or were tributary to her. These cities were all retaken in turn, their inhabitants welcoming their liberators with open arms, and each contributing its contingent towards Dionysius' already powerful army. The new town of Himera even, although on the north coast and far distant, also appears to have lent its aid and sent a body of men, the total of the Tyrant's land forces, we are told, now amounting to eighty thousand foot-soldiers and more than three thousand horsemen,

¹ Or 398 B.C. according to Freeman (*Hist. of Sicily*, iv. 127, footnote 2).

a formidable army for those days, and one which, combined with the supporting fleet, formed an armament the like of which had never before threatened Phœnician power in Sicily.

Leaving the westernmost boundary of Greek Sicily and crossing the river Mazarus, the territory of the barbarian was finally reached, and Dionysius stood before the stronghold of that power, the long-coveted island city, standing out like a precious gem in the middle of its land-locked bay.

One can picture to oneself the Tyrant encamped on the opposite mainland shores, possibly on the ground where Motya's successor, Lilybæum, was shortly to rise, and where the modern town of Marsala now stands, and imagine with what feelings of satisfaction and triumphant anticipation he must have gazed upon the sea-girt city, whose strength and power had for so long defied him, but which could now no longer hope to resist the overwhelming might of the whole of Greek Sicily that was brought against it, and must inevitably yield to its doom!

Motya, however, was not a city to give in without a hard and prolonged struggle, nor did Dionysius, knowing, as he did, the temper of its men and the stubborn resistance they were likely to offer, probably anticipate an easy victory. In any case, he decided first to overcome any opposition that might possibly be offered by the neighbouring town of Eryx, so, passing by the island city, he marched further north with his army, leaving his fleet in the bay of Motya, to await his return. This was not long delayed, for the inhabitants of Eryx, we are told, alarmed at the vastness of the Greek forces, and, moreover, hating the Carthaginians as they did, at once gave in and sided with the Tyrant, thus permitting him to retrace his steps without further loss of time and devote himself to the attack on Motya, the conquest of which formed the main object of his expedition.

Meanwhile, however, the inhabitants of this city, unlike those of Eryx, were undismayed at the sight of the mighty array brought against them, and counting on receiving assistance shortly from Carthage, well knowing also that they could expect but scant mercy at the hands of the Greeks, because of their devoted allegiance

to their powerful sister-state, they determined to resist the invaders to the utmost of their power.

That Motya at this time had become to all intents and purposes a dependency of Carthage is unquestionable. In addition to the Motyans themselves, it seems highly probable that some military force from Carthage already existed on the island as a garrison of the town, and it would also appear that the Greeks resident there had either been impressed into the service, or of their own free will took part in the defence of the city. That there were Greeks fighting with the Motyans we know from what Diodorus tells us ¹ of Daïmenês and others of his countrymen having been captured and crucified on the fall of Motya.

Be this as it may, it is presumable that the defenders of the island were in fairly strong force at this period, and their city being, for those days, a particularly well fortified one, they were no doubt quite justified in considering themselves capable of holding out for a considerable length of time and until the expected relief might reach them from Carthage.

They accordingly at once set to work preparing for the defence of the town, and commenced by destroying the artificial mole or causeway which connected the island with the mainland. This was no doubt an excellent strategic measure in itself, and might have proved invaluable to the defenders had they only been able to prevent the enemy from reconstructing the road; but apparently they lacked the means of doing this, and, beyond delaying the actual military operations against the town for a while, it proved of no avail.²

Dionysius, recognising the great advantage that a land approach offered to the besiegers, promptly ordered the reconstruction of the road, and, bringing his warships "into the mouth of the

¹ Diod., xiv.

² It seems strange that the Motyans should not have found some means of interfering with the enemy's work and prevented at least the reconstruction of that portion of the road immediately adjoining the island, admitting even that the Greek ships commanded the situation. From the absence of any mention of Motyan ships, we must conclude that the island city was quite dependent on Carthage for naval protection, and that her ships—for she must surely have had some—were confined to merchant or trading vessels, probably of no great size and of no value whatever as warships.

harbour, while his ships of burthen lay at anchor near the shore,"¹ left Leptines to carry out this important piece of work, with the crews of his numerous vessels, he himself, meanwhile, marching inland, with his land forces, to subdue the other Phœnician towns and those allied with Carthage.

This expedition seems to have been only partially successful, for, although it is stated that all the cities of this part of Sicily, with the exception of five, immediately submitted to the Tyrant, those five towns were among the most important, including, as they did, Phœnician Panormus and Solous, Ancyraë, a town of which little is known, and the two probably strongly fortified hill cities of Segesta and Entella. Against these Dionysius' military operations appear to have been limited to despoiling the territory of the three first named, and to besieging the two latter without, however, succeeding in reducing them, after which, withdrawing his army, he returned to Motya, to carry out his main object, hoping that, after the fall of this stronghold, the other allied towns would also give in.

In the meantime, however, Carthage had begun to bestir herself, and hoping, in the first place, to draw off at least a part of Dionysius' fleet from Motya by means of a diversion, despatched ten warships under an admiral to Syracuse, with orders to enter the Grand Harbour secretly by night and destroy all the shipping that might be found there. The attack appears to have been carried out with complete success so far as its immediate object was concerned, much havoc being wrought among the ships of Syracuse; but the desired after-result and primary aim were not achieved, for the stratagem, well planned as it was, failed to draw off even a small portion of Dionysius' fleet from Motya.² The

¹ Although we are not told which shore is here alluded to, from what is stated later on it is clear that it must have been somewhere near the entrance to the bay and to the south of Motya, either at the extremity of the spit of land, now the Isola Lunga, or, as seems more probable, on the opposite shore of the mainland, which is more sheltered. The warships, on the other hand, were evidently taken northwards, passing between Motya and the Isola Lunga, on the shores of the latter of which they were apparently either all, or in part, drawn up on land, or beached.

² It is difficult to understand why the Carthaginians did not follow up this success by an attack in force on Syracuse itself, deprived as that city was, for the time being, of any defence by sea, and with probably but a comparatively small garrison left to

Tyrant, on the contrary, appears simply to have ignored the Carthaginians' move; at any rate, there is no mention of his having taken any notice of it, for on his return to Motya he seems to have applied himself energetically to the completion of the new mole, and was thus shortly afterwards enabled to bring up his war machinery and commence the actual siege of the town.

The Carthaginian general Himilco, foiled as he had been in his first attempt to relieve his kinsmen, now determined on a second and more important one, an attack on Dionysius' fleet at Motya itself; and hearing, as he seems to have done, of the Tyrant having taken his warships inside the haven, he hoped to have them at a disadvantage there, and by a sudden and unexpected onslaught to succeed in capturing or destroying them without great difficulty, thereby dealing such a blow as to bring about the raising of the siege. He must also, one may suppose, have heard of Dionysius having left Motya with his army, at this time, and counted on the Tyrant's absence being prolonged sufficiently to allow of his effecting his object without hindrance on the part of any land force.

Be this as it may, Himilco promptly manned a hundred of his best galleys and warships, and immediately sailed for Sicily, arriving during the night off the coast of Selinus, from whence, sailing round the so-called promontory of Lilybæum, now Cape Boeo, he reached the haven of Motya at daybreak.

Near the entrance to this inland sea or bay Himilco found the unprotected Greek transports at anchor, and naturally had no difficulty in destroying them, after which, penetrating further into the bay, no doubt to the west of Motya and between it and the present Isola Lunga, he appears to have placed his ships in battle array and made preparations for the proposed attack on Dionysius'

defend it. One can only conclude that, as Dionysius had no doubt rightly judged when he declared war on Carthage, this city, ravaged as she had recently been by pestilence and weakened in her resources, was at this period more or less powerless to raise a large army, and was not in a position to undertake any serious offensive action. Had it not been so, one can hardly believe that Carthage would have been content to confine her efforts to save Motya to the two ineffectual, not to say half-hearted, attempts we know of.

war fleet, which, as already stated, must have been stationed in this part of the haven.¹

So far Himilco's scheme had been attended with complete success, and all had gone well with his bold attempt to relieve the beleaguered city; but the tide of fortune was about to change now and pass over to the other side.

— Dionysius had returned from his inland expedition and had resumed the command of his forces at Motya, himself prepared to confront the Carthaginian general. He no doubt at once realised his mistake in having brought his warships so far inside the haven, and promptly set to work to remedy it as best he could. His powers of resource at this moment were put to the test, but he was equal to the occasion.

The situation of the Syracusan fleet, hemmed in as it was within the confined shallows of the interior of the Motyan haven, was undoubtedly a disadvantageous and critical one, and only a clever manœuvre, combined with energetic action on the part of its commander, could save it. Dionysius brought up his land forces, as may be gathered, along the inner shores of the present Isola

¹ Whether Dionysius' warships were drawn up on shore or not, Himilco held them at a disadvantage no doubt, commanding, as he did, the one approach to the bay; for, bottled up as the Greek vessels were in the shallow waters of the inner part of the haven, with probably but a single narrow channel of deeper water for navigation, no exit in serried order was possible for them. At the same time, however, for the same reason, any further advance on the part of the Carthaginian fleet must have been equally out of the question. Dionysius' action in beaching his ships on this occasion has been severely criticised, but one must bear in mind that the relaunching of vessels like the triremes or even the quinqueremes, or *penteconters*, of those days, especially having a host of men available to carry out the work, would not have been a very lengthy operation, and the Tyrant, moreover, probably counted on receiving ample notice of any move on the enemy's part. Dionysius' real mistake was no doubt that of taking his warships into the shallow inner part of the haven instead of leaving them near the entrance to the bay, where they would have confronted the Carthaginian fleet, not only on equal, but, owing to their superior number, on more advantageous terms. The entrance to the bay, or the Stagnone, as it is commonly called, is of considerable width, and the depth of the water in its neighbourhood sufficient to allow of the manœuvring which any naval encounter of those days might have called for. As already stated, however, Dionysius appears to have been so persuaded of the impossibility of any serious interference with his movements on the part of Carthage at this time, that he probably became careless, and, requiring the crews of his vessels for the reconstruction of the mole on the north of Motya, he did not hesitate to bring his fleet well up into the haven, where they would be near at hand and available for the work.

Lunga, towards the entrance of the haven, and, armed with his catapults and other war armament, there engaged the enemy, both from the shore itself, as well as from the decks of some of his vessels which apparently were stationed there and probably were then launched. At the same time he resorted to the stratagem of transporting a considerable portion of his fleet over land, or shallows, into the open sea outside the above-mentioned island, by which means not only were the ships themselves saved, but they were also thus placed in the position of being able to turn the tables on the enemy by coming upon him in superior force, and from the outer sea.¹

Diodorus' allusion—one can hardly call it more than that—to Dionysius' action in transporting his ships into the open sea is most laconic, and unfortunately Polyænus' description of it, although somewhat more detailed, is by no means explicit, and leaves us in doubt as to the precise spot where the manœuvre was carried out. This, indeed, has consequently always been a much-vexed question, and has given rise to considerable discussion and conjecture.

According to Polyænus, the transport of the vessels was effected “in a flat and marshy district measuring twenty *stadia* in extent,” but whether this meant that the ships were actually drawn over twenty *stadia* of land, or merely that the stretch of land where the operation was carried out had a coast-line or frontage measuring that extent, it is difficult to say.

Had it not been for this mention of the twenty *stadia*, looking at the map, one might not perhaps have hesitated in placing Dionysius' line of transport at the narrowest part of the spit of land now known as the Isola Lunga, as being that offering the greatest facilities for the manœuvre, both because of the comparatively insignificant width of the land at this spot, as also on account of it being particularly flat and marshy, although these

¹ Diod., xiv. 50: Διόπερ τῷ πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν ῥαδίως διεκκύσας τὰ σκάφη διὰ τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν ἐκτὸς τοῦ λιμένος θάλατταν, διέσωσε τὰς ναῦς.

Polyæn., v. 2: Διονύσιος . . . παρεκάλεσε τοὺς ναύτας καὶ στρατιώτας θαρρεῖν καὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι τὴν διαγὴν τῶν τριήρων (διὰ) τῆς περιεχύσης ἄκρας τὸν λιμένα. τόπος ἦν ὁμαλὸς καὶ πηλώδης, εὖρος εἴκοσι στάδια. τοῦτον οἱ στρατιῶται ξύλοις φάλλαγγώσαντες ὑπερήνεγκαν ὀδοήκοντα τριήρεις ἡμέρα μιᾷ.

last-named terms might be applied equally to other parts of the outer shores of the bay of Motya.

More than one writer on the subject has been strongly in favour of this opinion, and there is no doubt that the arguments in support of it are reasonable. Most recent authorities,¹ however, interpreting the allusion to the twenty *stadia* as applying to the actual tract of land over which the Syracusan vessels were transported, prefer to place the line of transport to the north-west of Motya, that is to say, from the inner part of the haven, westward of the mole or causeway, to the present channel separating the Isola Lunga from the mainland at the point now known as Cape San Teodoro, and, in order to account for the twenty *stadia*, suppose the whole of that part of the bay on either side of the small island of Santa Maria and north of it, which is now water and shallows, must in former days have been dry land.

Now, in view of the evidence afforded by recent research² that the relation of land to water in the Marsala Stagnone is more or less identical now with what it must have been in the days of Motya, the above conclusion cannot be maintained, and, unless one is prepared to accept the alternative idea of placing Dionysius' line of transport across the Isola Lunga, there appears to be but one way out of the difficulty.

This would be to suppose that it was not absolutely dry land across which the Syracusan vessels were drawn, but *shallows*, the shallows between the inner part of the bay of Motya and the present Cape San Teodoro, which probably existed in former times more or less as they do now. Holm places the line of transport on the north-east, or inner side, of the island of S. Maria, but it may equally have been on the south-west, or outer side. This, however, is immaterial, and does not affect the distance of twenty *stadia*, which is the important point.

The actual transport of vessels through such shallows would, one may think, have constituted a less arduous undertaking than that of dragging them bodily over absolutely dry land, and the

¹ Cf. Holm (*Ges. Sic.*, v. 5); Freeman (*Sicily*, iv. 75); Schubring (*Mot. u. Lil.*, 55 *seqq.*).

² *Vide antea*, Chapter IV.

manœuvre may consequently have been carried out there with comparative celerity. Polyænus speaks of eighty triremes having been transported in a day.

The greater part of the Stagnone, at the present day, has a very thick growth of marine vegetation, chiefly composed of a particularly soft *Alga*, through which boats are easily drawn or pushed, without their keels and under parts suffering damage;¹ and in the more rocky parts the wooden rollers with which the Greek vessels were apparently provided would doubtless have afforded ample protection against such injury.

Although the custom of drawing vessels over land, or through shallows, may not have been unusual in the days of triremes, one may venture to doubt it having ever before been carried out on so important a scale as on the present occasion, when naturally the operation was greatly facilitated, not to say, rendered possible, by the host of men that Dionysius was able to devote to the work. The Tyrant's adroit manœuvre was but the precursor of similar operations resorted to by other leaders in later history.²

Returning now to Himilco: realising, as he no doubt did, not only that Dionysius had outwitted him, but also that the Carthaginian fleet was in danger, and, moreover, having apparently already been severely punished by the hailstorm of darts and other missiles directed against his vessels with such dire effect by the newly invented catapults³ and other perfected weapons of the Syracusans, he decided to abandon his attempt to save Motya, and, drawing off his fleet, sailed back to Africa.

Thus failed the second and final Carthaginian relief expedition, leaving the devoted city to her fate. Motya, without further

¹ The author himself has often been obliged to have his boat drawn or pushed bodily over the shallows by the boatmen standing in the water.

² It was adopted on the occasion of Hannibal's attack against Taranto, and later on when Constantinople was besieged by the Sultan Mohammed.

³ The catapults invented by Dionysius, or by military engineers under his orders, seem to have been of two different types, one the *πетроβόλον*, for hurling large stones, the other the *ὄξυβελεῖς*, for throwing darts (Diod., xx. 48). Both must have been effective weapons, to judge from the havoc they wrought and the consternation they spread through the Carthaginian ranks.

Josephus states that, at the siege of Jerusalem, stones weighing 57½ lbs. were thrown by the catapults a distance of 400 yards. This seems a marvellous performance.

hope of assistance, either from her powerful sister-state or from any of her kinsmen or allies in Sicily itself, had to shift for herself and make her supreme effort, an effort for life or death, the like of which she had never had to make before.

Left free, as he now was, to apply himself to his main object, Dionysius commenced the actual siege of Motya.

The new mole, in the construction of which the Tyrant's legions had been engaged during his temporary absence, was now completed, and, from what may be gathered, must have been something more than an ordinary mole or simple approach. One may, indeed, imagine it to have widened out, on nearing the island, into a fairly broad embankment or platform, capable of carrying the numerous war engines of which one reads as forming part of the Syracusan army's equipment, and of allowing sufficient space for their manœuvring.

It may here be observed that the foreshore all along the northern coast of Motya is particularly shallow, and, with the large number of workmen Dionysius had at his disposal, one may imagine that the construction of such an embankment or platform would not have constituted a very arduous undertaking.

Somewhat to the west of the northern entrance to the town, a rock plateau of considerable extent is to be seen at the present day. Its surface lies about flush with the water at its normal level, and is remarkably flat and smooth, so much so, indeed, as to give the impression of its having been artificially levelled, although there is nothing to prove this. This apparently natural rock plateau may well have been utilised by the besiegers in their attack on the town. The fortification wall in its neighbourhood is not as strong as in many other parts of the enceinte, and at one point shows signs of what would seem to have been a breach having been effected in it, possibly the very breach of which mention is made in Diodorus' account of the siege.¹

Although it is not actually so stated, the attack on Motya was apparently chiefly carried out at this northern end of the island, and in the vicinity of the mole, with its embankments, natural or artificial, on either side. This was no doubt only to be expected,

¹ Diod., xiv.

for here existed what was presumably the main entrance to the town, the great north gateway, in the neighbourhood of which were probably many of the principal houses and other buildings of importance.

We certainly have evidence of severe fighting having taken place in various spots along this part of the coast in the large quantity of darts and arrow-heads found in the soil and among the *débris* of the ruins. At the same time, however, although we hear nothing of them, it is quite possible that attacks may have been made on other parts of the city as well, attacks against which we have proofs of ample preparations having been made, in the barricading of the south gateway and that of the entrance to the Cothon adjoining it. Should such attacks have been made, however, they must, we may think, have been on a less important scale than those effected on the north of the city. At the present day there are no signs of any road having formerly existed around the island, by which the Syracusan rams and movable towers might have been conveyed, nor does the passage through the south gateway itself show traces of having ever served for wheel traffic.

That no attack was made on any part of Motya by sea, so far as we know, may appear strange at first sight, considering the fleet that Dionysius had brought with him; but it is likely enough that the shallowness of the water around the island may have constituted a serious as well as unexpected obstacle to any such action, and precluded the attempt from being made.

Be this as it may, the absolute command of the sea around the island being in Dionysius' possession, the land approach by the mole was no doubt sufficient, and more than sufficient, for his purpose. Bringing up his troops and powerful armament to the walls of the city, he commenced the assault by hurling his battering-rams against the bastions and fortifications, while the moving towers and other war engines poured their deadly missiles upon the devoted defenders, dealing death and destruction on every side.

The Motyans, however, resisted all attacks bravely, and responded, in their turn, by an attempt to destroy the wooden

towers and similar appliances by means of burning brands and pitch-smearcd bundles of tow, which some of the men, clothed in mail armour, threw down from commanding positions and projecting spars specially placed overhead for that purpose.

The wooden towers moving on wheels, although not a new invention, were, we learn, on this occasion constructed of exceptional height, being six-floored and as high as the lofty Motyan houses, against which they were used.

Some of the war engines appear to have taken fire, and a certain amount of damage was caused the enemy, but the defenders' attempt does not seem to have affected the general attack or hindered the assault on the fortifications; for ere long, we learn, a breach was effected in one part of the wall, and the massive bulwarks on which the Motyans had pinned their faith and relied for their safety in the hour of need proved no longer able to resist the violent onslaught made against them.

And now a deadly hand-to-hand encounter took place between besiegers and besieged, the former, believing that the town was already theirs, eagerly pressing forward through the passage effected by the battering-rams, while the latter, determined to resist the inrush of the enemy if possible, put forth their utmost strength with a view of holding the breach and keeping back the invading horde.

Failing in this effort, however—though not, we may be sure, for want of courage and stubborn pertinacity, but probably simply on account of the superior numbers brought against them—and with the enemy actually within their walls, the Motyans were obliged to fall back and resort to another method of defence. A new phase or form of combat was now entered upon, one more terrible, indeed, than that which had previously been sustained.

Abandoning the defence of the outer walls and closing the gateways and other means of access to the interior of the town as far as possible, the Motyans betook themselves to the houses and buildings adjoining the fortifications, which themselves, solidly built, as we are told they were, may be supposed to have formed an inner or second line of defence, one indeed which may possibly

have been previously planned to provide for the contingency of the outer fortifications being forced.¹

Here the actual fighting seems chiefly to have been carried on, not on the ground, but aloft, on the flat-terraced house-tops and upper storeys of the buildings, in fact, and between them and the raised scaffoldings of the wheeled towers, which the Greeks, unable to penetrate into the ground-floors and lower buildings, and labouring under the disadvantage of their adversaries being above them, had brought inside the outer city walls and placed against the houses. In this way they were able to carry out the desperate hand-to-hand struggle under more favourable conditions, renewing the attack daily, as we are told, and retiring to their quarters of an evening, on the signal for retreat being sounded by a trumpet.²

This singular, not to say unique, conflict waged between adversaries equally determined and courageous, and, for the moment, fairly matched in strength,—for the numerical superiority of the Greeks could not here be displayed to its full extent,—although undoubtedly a deadly and terrible one on account of the great loss of life it must have entailed, was not, however, likely to be productive of any immediate marked success, admitting even that eventually it was bound to end in favour of the stronger side. This, indeed, may be gathered from the fact of its continuance for so long without apparently any result or advantage accruing to either side.³

Dionysius, realising this, no doubt, and wishing to bring matters to a crisis as soon as possible, as also probably in order to save his forces, decided on a change of tactics, and now resorted to stratagem. Not having succeeded in overcoming the Motyans in fair fight by day, he determined to accomplish his object by stealth at night. A picked body of soldiers, under the command of a certain Archylus, a Thurian, was sent in the dead of night to effect an entrance if

¹ Within the outer walls the battering-rams of the besiegers were presumably useless, for lack of manœuvring space, as otherwise one cannot well understand how they were not employed against the house walls.

² According to Appian (viii. 128), a similar hand-to-hand combat from the roofs and upper floors of the houses seems to have taken place at Carthage.

³ We do not hear anything of the Motyans suffering from want of water, although presumably their supply of good drinking water from the mainland must have been cut off, and the beleaguered citizens probably had to depend on their cistern supply.

possible into the town, or rather the interior of the town, to which, evidently, the Greeks had not yet succeeded in penetrating.

The Motyans, accustomed as they had apparently become to the daily warfare, succeeded regularly by a night of undisturbed rest, and not anticipating any change for the moment, had doubtless somewhat relaxed their vigilance, and were consequently taken by surprise.

Archylus, with his band of followers, succeeded, by means of scaling-ladders, in climbing over the semi-ruined constructions, and in obtaining possession of some important point of vantage which secured an entrance for his party and for the large reinforcements which Dionysius held in readiness to follow them. The town was now in the enemy's possession, and was shortly overrun by the hosts of the entire Greek army.

The third and last phase of this great conflict had now come, and, mercifully, seeing that there could be but one ending to the now unequal combat, it was a short one, and all was soon over.

The Motyans, brave as they were, and fighting for their families and homes, for all that was most dear to them, with the stern courage and dogged tenacity of their race, coupled with desperation, had no chance against the legions of the Tyrant. *Væ victis!* They were cut down ruthlessly by the invaders who, in their multitudes, poured over the town in every direction.

The Greeks had long waited for this day of vengeance, and, furious at the prolonged and irritating resistance recently encountered, they showed no quarter, but slew men, women, and children, old and young, without mercy or pity. Slaughter, and naught but slaughter, was in their minds for the time being, and until their thirst for vengeance was appeased the fearful massacre continued.

Finally Dionysius, with a view of saving those of the citizens who might be still surviving, for the purpose of selling them as slaves, succeeded in finding the means of staying the hand of the raging soldiery. His first command for the cessation of the massacre appears to have been unheeded and proved ineffectual. He now issued a proclamation by public crier, ordering that the surviving

Motyans wishing to save their lives should take refuge in the temples of those gods whom Greeks and Phœnicians agreed in reverencing.¹ This had the desired effect, and the terrible bloodshed was stopped.²

The town was now given over to the victorious troops to plunder at their will, as a recompense for their services and as an encouragement for the future ; while Archylus, the leader of the successful surprise party, received a special reward of one hundred *minas* for the great part he had played in bringing about the victory. The loot or booty, as we are told, and as we can readily believe, was great, a vast quantity of gold and silver, besides costly garments and other articles of wealth and treasure, being captured.

The epilogue or concluding act of this great historical tragedy was a sad one. It treated of the sale into bondage of the captive Motyans, the survivors of the siege and massacre, and of the execution of Daïmenês and other Greeks who were taken prisoners fighting in the ranks of the defenders. The latter, as traitors to their country, were, by Dionysius' orders, condemned to die a Carthaginian death by crucifixion.

After this, we are told, Dionysius placed a garrison of Sicels on the island, under the governorship of a Syracusan called Bito, and, ordering his admiral-in-chief, Leptines, to keep watch over the Carthaginian movements at sea, as well as to continue the raids on Segesta and Entella, he himself, with the bulk of his

¹ Diod., xiv. 53 : Παρεστήσατο κήρυκας τοὺς μετὰ βοῆς δηλώσοντας τοῖς Μοτυναίοις φυγεῖν εἰς τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἱερὰ τιμώμενα. As Freeman truly says (*Sicily*, iv. 83) : "The question at once arises, what were the deities whose holy places were in this way common ground for such embittered enemies ?" Considering the number of Greeks apparently resident at Motya, it seems likely enough that they should have had their own places of worship, dedicated to Hellenic deities, which were respected by the Phœnicians ; but, on the other hand, it is equally possible that these Greeks may have worshipped at Phœnician holy places which they looked upon as sacred. In any case, places of worship seem to have existed at Motya which were sacred alike to Greek and to Phœnician.

² This was not the first time in Sicilian history that the lives of refugees in places of worship had been spared by their victors. A similar instance had occurred at the taking of Selinus by the Carthaginians a few years previously, although on that occasion the object appears to have been to prevent the terrified citizens, already within the temples, from setting fire to the buildings and thus destroying much precious spoil. In both cases the chief motive seems to have been a sordid one.

army, as the summer was now drawing to a close, returned to Syracuse.

His object, or the main part of it, had been accomplished. A great military success had been achieved, the greatest that the Greeks had thus far ever had against the Phœnicians — Motya had fallen !

Thus ended the campaign which was to deprive the Carthaginian power of its once famous stronghold and western outpost in Sicily, and bring about the disappearance from history of a city not only destined never again to rise into being, but whose very name and existence were shortly to lapse into oblivion and pass out of the ken of man.

Although Motya had fallen, and fallen never to rise again, the actual possession of the island had passed into the hands of the Greeks but for a time, and was shortly to return to its former masters.

Carthage, apparently restored to her normal strength, and smarting no doubt under her recent discomfitures, the following year prepared a huge army, which, with a correspondingly powerful fleet, left for Sicily, under the command of Himilco, now chosen by his countrymen as Shophet. During the voyage some of the Carthaginian transports were attacked and sunk by the watchful Leptines, but the bulk of the expeditionary force reached the coasts of Sicily in safety and landed at Panormus, where a further reinforcement of thirty thousand men was added to the already large army. This, according to the lowest computation given, numbered one hundred thousand men, while according to another reckoning it was no less than three hundred thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry.

From Panormus Himilco marched westward, and, passing by Eryx, obtained possession of that town, we are told, by treachery, probably on the part of some of its inhabitants ; after which, proceeding to Motya, he retook the island town, or what remained of it, by storm, Dionysius at this time being occupied besieging Segesta. This is all we are told regarding the recapture of Motya, and little enough it is.

We will not follow the triumphant Himilco through the remainder of this campaign and on to Syracuse, where, although

so near complete victory, he ultimately met with defeat, and, treacherously deserting the bulk of his army, escaped to Carthage, where shortly afterwards he is said to have put an end to his life by self-starvation. Our interest in the struggles between Greeks and Carthaginians, for the purposes of this volume, ceases with the fall of Motya.

CHAPTER VII

MOTYA AFTER ITS FALL—LILYBÆUM ITS SUCCESSOR

It is to be regretted that Diodorus' notice—for it can hardly be called more than that—of the recapture of Motya by the Carthaginians is so meagre and laconic, but it is the only record we have of the event, and we must therefore be content with the bare statement, such as it is, bearing in mind always that it was taken from the works of Timæus and other Greek writers, who, while naturally ready enough to extol the victories of their countrymen, were probably not inclined to be equally at pains, let alone to be prolix, in recounting or dwelling on their reverses. It is, however, at the same time, quite possible that there was really little to record regarding the details of the recapture of Motya, which, in its crippled and probably semi-abandoned state, no doubt presented a far less arduous task than it did, a few months previously, as a strongly fortified and fully garrisoned city, the centre and stronghold of Phœnician power in Sicily, defended too, as it then was, by the desperate Motyans, fighting for their lives and homes.

It is also not unlikely that the recession or loss of Motya, considering its impoverished and semi-ruined state, may not have been accounted by the Greeks as of much importance; nor, indeed, did the Carthaginians themselves seem to have looked upon its re-acquisition as a great gain, seeing that shortly after the recapture of the town they appear to have abandoned it and founded a new settlement at Lilybæum. The importance of the fact itself, however, involving as it did the restoration of Punic power in Sicily, cannot fail to have been recognised by both Greeks and Carthaginians.

Whether there was any good authority for the accusation

shortly afterwards brought against Dionysius by Theodorus the Syracusan with regard to the Tyrant having cravenly run away from Motya and retreated before the enemy to Syracuse,¹ it is impossible to say, but it may be that every effort to retain possession of the newly acquired Phœnician territory had really not been made. What appears to be undoubted is that Dionysius did not always prosecute his victories, or follow up his successes over the Carthaginians, as he might have done. This may have been due, perhaps, at any rate during the earlier part of his reign, when his sway and authority over Syracuse and the other Greek cities in Sicily were not firmly established, to his desire to maintain the fear of Carthage as a constant menace to them, or it may have been due to his dread of a certain prophecy concerning his death being fulfilled.

Diodorus, speaking of the death of Dionysius,² relates how the Tyrant had been warned by an Oracle that his death would take place after he had overcome those who were stronger than himself, and that, imagining the Carthaginians to be those referred to in this prophecy, he purposely waived his claim to victory over them on various occasions, in order that the prediction should not be verified. As a matter of fact, however, Dionysius met with his death immediately after, and, from what we are told, as the result of over-feasting, or other excesses, at a banquet given by him at Syracuse to celebrate his triumph at Athens as a writer of tragedy, a success to which he had for long previously, though in vain, aspired ; so, if we are to give the Oracle the credit of true divination, those referred to as stronger than Dionysius himself were his rivals as poets, or wielders of the pen and not of the sword, as imagined by him.

Returning to Motya, it appears probable that its abandonment on the part of the Carthaginians, after they had retaken it from the Greeks, was due not only to the fact of its ruined and despoiled state rendering its rebuilding a matter of some difficulty, apart from sanitary considerations, but also and perhaps chiefly because Lilybæum, so close at hand, offered a more advantageous site for the new city.

The little island fastness of Motya was no doubt sufficient and

¹ Diod., xiv. 64.

² *Ib.*, xv. 74.

admirably adapted in many ways for the peaceable early traders, but the wide-spreading promontory of Lilybæum, with its deeper waters of harbourage, was certainly a finer site for the important new settlement which the all-powerful Carthaginians proposed establishing as their stronghold in Sicily.

Among the considerations which will no doubt have weighed greatly with the Carthaginians in their decision to abandon Motya was that of the insufficient depth of water around the island, and its probable gradual but steadily increasing shallowness, in consequence of the insilting of sand and weed from the open sea. Under such conditions it would have been impossible to maintain at Motya the fleet necessary for the protection of Carthaginian interests in Sicily, and the decision in favour of Lilybæum was doubtless a wise one. The great advantage of sea-power, even in those days, had come to be recognised.

Allusion has been made in the preceding chapter to the apparent absence of any Motyan war-vessels, a fact which, if really the case, may have been due, in some measure, to the shallowness of the water around the island. Motya, indeed, although an island, lacked the advantages an island usually possesses, chief among them that of immunity from attack by land, and to this unfortunate circumstance may no doubt, in great part at least, be attributed the downfall of the once important Phœnician city.

As told us by Diodorus, those of the Motyans who were not killed during the siege and on the fall of Motya were sold as slaves, and the few survivors who may have escaped both death and bondage will eventually have found a home at Lilybæum. What appears undoubted is that, once it was destroyed, Motya lapsed into oblivion, its very existence being probably shortly forgotten and lost sight of by succeeding generations.

Thus we find no further mention of Motya as a town or settlement in the subsequent history of the wars between Greeks and Carthaginians, Lilybæum now figuring as the centre and stronghold of Punic power in Sicily.

Nothing remained of the former greatness of the once important and flourishing colony, of its commerce and wealth, and of its beautiful buildings with their lofty towers, of which Diodorus

makes mention,¹ and which St Augustine, in his *Vigils*, recalling past conflicts in Sicily, pictures to himself "surmounted now by the Syracusan, now by the Punic waving standards."²

With the exception of the ruins of its fortifications and some other buildings, all traces of Motya's ancient grandeur and importance seem to have disappeared with its fall, ruthlessly swept away by the hand of man, the devastation wrought by the siege and subsequent pillage on the part of the victorious Greeks having, later on, probably been completed by the Carthaginians themselves on regaining its possession and abandoning the site in favour of Lilybæum.

Fire undoubtedly played an important part in the actual destruction of the town, abundant proof of which may be found in the many charred remains that have been discovered wherever excavations have been made. The lofty Phœnician dwelling-houses, it may be supposed, were constructed in great part of wood, their foundations and basements alone possibly being in stone, and this fact will no doubt have greatly facilitated the work of destruction, and rendered it more rapid and complete.

Such buildings as were more solidly constructed in stone and masonry, as, for instance, the fortification walls and towers, as well as the houses and other edifices erected by the Greek residents in Motya, whose number was probably not inconsiderable during the latter period of the town, were no doubt demolished, either totally or in part, and much of the material of which they were built may eventually have been transported to the new town of Lilybæum. Naturally, the more beautiful and artistic architectural work, together with any statuary or other movable objects of art, will have been the first to be carried off, either by the Greeks or, later, by the Carthaginians. The rougher and less important stonework will probably have been allowed to remain on the island, but a good deal of this seems to have been carried off during comparatively recent times. In many buildings and walls on the mainland, opposite the island, one may see fine, well-worked blocks, which undoubtedly have come from the ruins of Motya; while on the island itself the cottages and other buildings existing

¹ Diod., xiv. 48 and 51.

² St Augustine, *Vigils*, 11th night.

at the present day are almost entirely composed of such blocks and of material found on the spot. Even the walls of some of the salt-pans of the Stagnone are in part constructed of the ruins of Motya!

Needless to say, any treasure that may have been found must have been appropriated by the conquerors, after the siege; and presumably, if we are to judge from what is told us of the great wealth of Motya, there must have been no lack of such booty. The Phœnicians, as we know, were among the most skilful artisans and workers of the day in precious metals, and it is reasonable to conclude that a considerable quantity of valuable jewellery and similar work must have existed among the richer inhabitants of the town.

Of Motya after its fall, not as a city—for all claim to be considered as such appears to have ended with its overthrow and destruction by Dionysius—but simply as an inhabited island, little seems to be known or recorded.

Evidence is certainly not wanting to show that it must have been inhabited at a period or periods subsequent to the fall of the old Phœnician city, but prior to what may be called recent or modern times.

The remains of what were apparently dwellings have been found in various parts of the island, built above, and in some cases actually on the foundations of, the older Phœnician constructions; and articles, chiefly of terra-cotta, have been discovered on the island which date from times later than that of Motya. The remains of the above-mentioned buildings, however, owing to the fact of their being near the surface of the soil and consequently considerably exposed to the ravages of time, and in particular to injury from the ploughshare, in most cases show little more than the foundations and pavements, and even these are generally so damaged as to make it difficult to say to what period they belong. Most of the buildings seem to have been of rude construction, probably the dwellings of peasants, and in but few cases is there anything which affords an indication of their date. In one house, however, there is a small octagonal fountain-basin, which appears to be of undoubted Moorish design.

The island may possibly have been occupied, or at any rate

visited, at some period by the Romans, the Vandals, or the Byzantines, but there seems to be nothing to show that such was the case; nor does Tacitus, when writing of Sicily, and describing more or less minutely every place of importance in the island, even allude to Motya.

We first hear of it again more than a thousand years after its fall and disappearance from history, under the Moorish names of Zizareth and Zezebus, as also that of Gisira-Malbugi; but with the exception of its names little is known regarding the island during that period.

In the eleventh century, on the Normans taking the place of the Saracens in Sicily, we hear of it again as being known by the Greek name of Pantaleimon, in addition to its above-mentioned Moorish names.

Under the Norman domination the island appears to have passed into private hands, being in the possession of two admirals, Christodulos and Theodulos by name, by whom it was afterwards, with the sanction of the then governor of Sicily, Count Roger, and subsequent ratification of King Roger II., left by donation to the abbey of St Mary of the Grotto, of the religious Order of St Basil in Marsala. This Order had its monks also in Palermo, and in 1196, under the Suabians, the Marsala and the Palermo monasteries were united by the Empress Constance under one administration; and three years later, by decree of the Emperor Henry VI., the Marsala abbey, with its possessions, including our island, passed into the hands of the Palermo monastery.¹

The Basilian monks apparently continued in possession of San Pantaleo, as the island came to be called about this time, until

¹ Coglitore, *Mozia*, pp. 174-180. Cf. Padre Amato (MS. eighteenth century, Bib. Com. Palermo) and Pirri (*Sicilia Sacra*, 1733, ii. 883 *seq.*). King Roger's diploma, sanctioning or ratifying the donation to the Basilian monastery of Marsala, which was issued in 1130, mentions not only the island of San Pantaleo itself, but also its *methocum* or *grangia* and its *salina* or salt-pan. The two first words probably refer to the hamlet, with its farmhouses, which no doubt existed on the island in those days, as in later times, and not to a church, as stated by Coglitore, although a church, dedicated to St Pantaleone, may already have been in existence at that time, forming part of the hamlet. The word *methocum* is certainly correctly rendered by our word "hamlet," while the word *grangia* may be taken to apply to the farmhouses which were probably there. Our English word "grange" undoubtedly has the same derivation.

the second half of the sixteenth century, when the Jesuit Order was instituted in Palermo, and the Emperor Charles V. conceded the gift of both the Palermo and Marsala monasteries to the new Order.

On the expulsion of the Jesuits from Sicily in the eighteenth century, San Pantaleo came into the possession of the town of Marsala, which laid claim to the island as having originally belonged to its monastery of St Mary of the Grotto, and in virtue of certain rights the town exercised over the Stagnone.

By the town of Marsala San Pantaleo appears later on to have been apportioned or sold to numerous small proprietors, from whom it finally came to be purchased, piece by piece, and after many years of patient waiting, by its present owner.

It is difficult to say whether the island's modern name of San Pantaleo came into use as a corruption of its Greek name Panta-leimon,¹ or whether it was taken from the church which seems to have been erected on the island, during the time of the Normans, in honour of the martyr St Pantaleone and bore his name.²

¹ The name Panta-leimon, literally "all field" (παντα-λειμών), was probably given to the island because of it being at the time practically uninhabited and actually covered with verdure, giving it the appearance of one vast green field. The name would certainly be appropriate even at the present day, for, with the exception of a small group of buildings, the island is given over to fields. Looking at it from a distance, it stands out like a pretty patch of green in the midst of the blue waters of the Stagnone, and forms a pleasant contrast to the monotonous salt-pans of the mainland and the Isola Lunga beyond it. According to some writers, πάντα and λιμὴν, or "all harbour," has been thought to be the derivation of the name, referring to the surroundings of the island; while others suggest πάντα and ἐλεήμων, or "all-merciful," as being a probable one.

² According to Coglitore (*Mozia*, p. 177), St Pantaleone was a doctor of Nicomedia, born in the third century of the present era, who was called by the Emperor Maximianus to be one of his court physicians. The doctor made the acquaintance at court of the Christian priest Hermolaus, and, cultivating his friendship, was eventually baptised by him. Jealousy on the part of the other court physicians caused Pantaleone to be denounced as a Christian, and, after having been subjected to torture, he was eventually beheaded in the year 303.

The Church commemorates this saint on the 27th July. A chapel dedicated to St Pantaleone exists, or once existed, in the church of the Jesuit College in Palermo.

In the Palermo National Museum a small painting on wood may be seen, representing St Pantaleone together with St Thomas. The date of the painting is 1699, and the author's name is given as Simone Monaco. Whether this is the painting of the saint said to have existed formerly in the Salnitrian Museum of the Jesuits, or another, it is difficult to say. The National Museum Register merely states that it was acquired by purchase.

In its sudden and complete disappearance from history Motya differs from its sister-cities of Panormus and Solus, as, indeed, from most other towns which have suffered a similar fate, and it is chiefly owing to this that the site is so interesting to historians and especially to archæologists.

Unlike those cities which have passed from one domination to another without immediate or abrupt change, yet in course of time, by a gradual process, have undergone complete transformation, thus losing their individuality and original character, Motya, once overthrown and destroyed, ceased to exist as a town, and, so far as we know, even as an inhabited spot for many centuries, its very name lapsing into oblivion.¹ Its ruins, or such of them as were allowed to remain on the island, were probably, for precautionary sanitary reasons, filled in with soil and debris immediately after the great siege and slaughter, and time must gradually have completed the work of interment, hiding them from view and preserving them intact, as on the day they fell.

Thus, in the course of excavating, one finds the fragments of a handsome vase or platter, shattered into many pieces, lying on the ground, probably just where it fell more than twenty-three centuries ago, or a row of native-made amphoræ laid out to dry near a potter's kiln ; thus, one meets with the charred remains of a wooden gate or door, by the side of the metal bolts and rivets which once held it together, or a vast quantity of spear and arrow-heads lying in some spot where the fray must have raged fiercely during those last fatal days for Motya.

For the above-mentioned reasons, Motya probably shows more remains of an old Phœnician town still standing *in situ* and untouched, save perhaps by the husbandman's plough in the course of agricultural labour, than any other ancient site we know of.

Little comparatively has been done thus far in order to bring the buried ruins of Motya to light, but a systematic exploration is now in progress on the island, the results of which, it is hoped,

¹ Even now, although the ancient name of Motya is gradually coming into use again under the Italian form of Mozia, few, if any, of the peasants of the district ever call it by any other name than that of San Pantaleo, or by that of *San Pantaluni*, the Sicilian rendering of the saint's name.

may prove of the highest interest. In the following chapters of this work it is proposed to give detailed particulars of the results so far obtained.

Before doing so, however, it may be well to say a few words regarding Lilybæum, Motya's successor as the centre and main bulwark of Punic power in Western Sicily, and the city with which the history of Motya is in a certain measure connected, or we may even say continued, in after-years. Motya, indeed, in some way, may be said to have lived on in the new town of Lilybæum. The sites of the old and the new towns stood facing each other, on the shores of the same bay, and with but a narrow stretch of water between them. Those of the Motyans who had escaped death and bondage at the hands of the Greeks found a home in the new city. Their mere presence there will doubtless have had its influence on the other inhabitants, the newcomers, whether from Carthage or from other parts of Sicily itself, and served to perpetuate, for a while at least, the life and customs of the lost city. The very walls and dwelling-houses of the new town were probably in part constructed with material brought over from the abandoned island, while such objects of art and value as may not have been carried away by the despoilers will have been devoted to its embellishment.

Lilybæum undoubtedly took the place of Motya after the fall and disappearance of the latter town, and occupied a most prominent place in the subsequent history of Sicily, and the various wars that took place for supremacy in that island. How completely Lilybæum must have superseded Motya and ousted it from memory may be gathered from the fact that the historian Polybius, while repeatedly referring to the former in the detailed accounts he gives concerning it and the many sieges it withstood, never once even mentions the name of the latter.

With regard to the origin of Lilybæum, and the possibility of its having existed, if not as a town, as least as an inhabited district, previous to the siege and destruction of Motya, one can say but little; nor can one, perhaps, from the scanty knowledge which we possess concerning it, and the very few references to the place prior to 397 B.C., do more than form mere conjectures on the matter, which may, or may not, be correct.

It is certainly difficult to believe that so important a position as a site for a town as that offered by the so-called promontory of Lilybæum should not have been occupied at some period or other previous to the fall of Motya. It is, indeed, quite possible, and we may even say probable, as thought by some writers, that this tract of country was inhabited by the Sicani, or other aboriginal races, previous to the advent of the Phœnicians and Greeks, and that such inhabitants dwelt in the caves and subterranean passages abounding in this neighbourhood. These caves and underground grottoes, which are still in existence at the present day, are situated chiefly on the south and south-east of the site of ancient Lilybæum, the present town of Marsala, and extend a long way inland in a southerly direction. It is said that they reach even as far as the town of Mazzara, a distance of seven miles or more, but this is no doubt an exaggeration.

As to Lilybæum having ever been inhabited by the Elymians, it hardly seems likely, as it was not the sort of country these hill-dwellers would have selected for one of their settlements.

There remains the possibility of a Phœnician or Greek occupation of the site during the time of Motya. So far as the former people were concerned, although no doubt the position of Lilybæum was one which must have held out attractions to the enterprising traders, we must bear in mind that, on their first reaching the shores of Sicily, they were probably not in great force, and will have considered themselves more secure on the little island of Motya than on the more exposed mainland.

Once established there, and finding it to their liking, they will naturally have been loath to change their quarters. As already mentioned, however, in a previous chapter, it is not unlikely that, on the growth and expansion of the rising and prosperous colony, its inhabitants may have planted factories and outlying buildings on the mainland, and that Lilybæum may have been one of the spots selected for that purpose on account of the natural advantages it offered as a site. On the other hand, it is strange that, if such factories or *Peraiaë* existed, there should be no mention of them anywhere.

As to a Hellenic occupation of Lilybæum, the close proximity

of such a powerful alien settlement as Motya will no doubt have formed a sufficient obstacle of itself to any town or permanent settlement having been established by the Greeks in the neighbourhood. At the same time, it is not unlikely that they may have had small communities and trading settlements there, from time to time, and particularly during the latter period of Motya, when even that town itself appears to have had quite a considerable Greek population living within its walls. Such communities, however, will probably not have been very powerful, or aspired in any way to the importance of a town.

What has led many to believe that Lilybæum existed as a town prior to the destruction of Motya is Diodorus' statement that a war broke out between the Segestans and the Lilybæans concerning some lands near the river Mazarus at the time when Ariston was archon at Athens.¹ This would have been in the year 454 B.C., or fifty-seven years previous to the fall of Motya.

That some confusion exists here, however, seems undoubted, for Diodorus, later on, when speaking of the second Carthaginian invasion in 409 B.C., tells us that Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, arrived at Lilybæum, a promontory in Sicily, landed his army, and marked out his camp, beginning at a well, called at that time Lilybæum, which many years after gave its name to a town built in that place.²

Further on, moreover, Diodorus actually records the foundation of Lilybæum as having taken place subsequently to the destruction of Motya, in the following words: "This city (Lilybæum) was built by the Carthaginians after Dionysius the Tyrant had ruined Motya: for those who were left alive after that slaughter, the Carthaginians placed in Lilybæum."³

Attempts have been made to explain this evident contradiction, and numerous suggestions have been made, some of them supported even by documentary evidence supplied by contemporary inscriptions, as to who the belligerents really were in this war—

¹ Diod., xi. 86: Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν Ἐγεσταίοις καὶ Λιλυβαίοις ἐνέστη πόλεμος περὶ χώρας τῆς πρὸς τῷ Μαζάρῳ ποταμῷ γενομένης δὲ μάχος ἰσχυρᾶς συνέβη πολλοὺς παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἀναιρεθῆναι καὶ τῆς φιλοτιμίας μὴ λῆξαι τὰς πόλεις.

² Diod., xiii. 54.

³ Diod., *Frag.*, xxii. 10.

for some war there must undoubtedly have been at this period, viz. 454 B.C.¹

Some writers suggest that Diodorus, when using the term Lilybæans, simply referred to the Motyans, and that the war was one between Segesta and Motya; but, knowing the friendly relations that existed between these two towns, and the interests in common which bound them together, one hesitates to accept this interpretation, as one can hardly imagine such good friends quarrelling over a question of some lands situated near the river Mazarus, the frontier separating them from their common enemy.

Other writers, not without reason, have gone so far as to alter the names of both the contending parties named by Diodorus, and are of opinion that the war was one between Motya and Selinus, or Selinus and Agrigentum joined together; while others again argue, also on plausible grounds, that it was a war between Segesta and the Sican town of Alicia.

All these suggestions, although but conjectures, are based on good authority, and are deserving of consideration.

That Selinus gained a victory over some enemy about this time is proved by an inscription, now preserved in the Palermo Museum, which was found by Cavallari in 1871 among the ruins of the great temple of Apollo at Selinunte, although the name of the vanquished is not mentioned.² That Agrigentum gained a victory over Motya is also shown to be almost certain from what Pausanias writes.³ Lastly, that Segesta and Alicia were at variance about this time seems highly probable from an Athenian inscription,⁴ which, although mutilated and partially obliterated, by supplying a few words is fairly intelligible. So far as the passage in Diodorus is concerned, the substitution by him or by his amanuensis of *Λιλυβαίοις* for *Ἀλικυαίοις* is easy to understand.

¹ *Vide ante*, Chapter V.

² Cf. F. S. Cavallari, *Sulla top. di talune città Greche in Sicilia*, p. 55; A. Holm, "Iscriz. trovata nel Tempio Grande di Selinunte," *Bull. Com. Ant. Sic.*, No. 4, pp. 27-34; A. Salinus, *Relaz. R. Mus. Pal.*, pp. 50, 51, Tav. 2.

³ Paus., v. 25. 2.

⁴ Koehler, *Mittheilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Athen*, 1879, p. 30. A completely different reading, however, is suggested by Droysen (*Athen und der Westen vor der Sicilianischen Expedition*, Berlin, 1882), indicating an *alliance* between Segesta and Alicia!

The question, indeed, is a complex one, and, with the scanty knowledge we possess concerning events of the period, one can hardly hope to fathom it satisfactorily. Most authorities, however, appear to be agreed in putting it out of the question that Lilybæum, as a town, could have been engaged in a war at this time, while the possibility of Diodorus having referred to some people, not actually citizens of a town, but inhabitants of the district, as being one of the contending parties on this occasion, seems to be excluded by the fact of his distinctly speaking of *cities* when alluding to the continued dissension that existed between the belligerents after the first battle had been fought.

To sum up, the only conclusion one can come to regarding the matter is that a confusion of names has occurred in Diodorus' statement concerning this war, but that in any case Lilybæum was not intended to be named as one of the warring parties, leaving it an open question as to who these really were.

Freeman, when speaking of warfare in Western Sicily,¹ goes into the matter exhaustively, and, although without arriving at any satisfactory conclusion regarding the identity of the belligerents referred to by Diodorus, rightly observes that we learn two notable facts from the notices above mentioned relating to this period: first, that Athens had begun to look westward, or, at any rate, was considered likely to be inclined to take action in Sicily, twenty years before the Peloponnesian War; and secondly, that Carthage, at this period, apparently remained inactive while one of her dependencies was defeated by a Greek city or cities.

The first mention of Lilybæum as a *town* would appear to be that made by Diodorus in his reference to the war made by the elder Dionysius against the Carthaginians shortly before his death, when he says that the Tyrant, after invading the Carthaginian territory and taking in succession the towns of Selinus, Entella, and finally Eryx, "at length besieged Lilybæum, but the strength of the garrison presently forced him to raise the siege."²

Polybius tells us nothing of the origin and early days of Lilybæum, his first allusion to it being when it was already a strongly fortified city resisting the attacks of the Romans in the first Punic

¹ Freeman, *Hist. Sicily*, ii. 338 and Appendix xxxii.

² Diod., xv. 73.

War. He repeatedly refers to it afterwards, however, giving most detailed accounts of the many sieges it withstood, some of which appear to have been of incredible duration, and showed that the stronghold was practically impregnable.

Lilybæum, although a Carthaginian city, and always under Punic rule until its final capitulation to the Romans in 241 B.C., probably had at all times a very mixed and heterogeneous population living within its walls. The Greek element no doubt, among others, was well represented, and, to judge from the many indications apparent in what has so far been brought to light of its ruins and remains, Greek influence generally, and Greek art in particular, must have penetrated Lilybæum to a considerable extent.

The Greek language also, or a dialect of it, must have been spoken to a certain extent there, calling forth, as it did, Cicero's criticism: "*Si literas græcas Athenis, non Lilybæi, latinas Romæ non in Sicilia didicisses.*"¹

As Lilybæum, on its foundation, had received and given a home to the survivors of Motya, so was it destined, more than a century later, to open its gates and give shelter to the homeless Selinuntines, for in 255 B.C. the Carthaginians, under Hasdrubal, after destroying Selinus for the second time in its history and razing the city to the ground, transplanted its citizens to their stronghold in Western Sicily.²

Although unprovided with a harbour in any way comparable with that of Panormus, Lilybæum, however, owing to its position facing the African coast, and within an easy journey of Carthage itself, must have been considered by the Carthaginians as of far greater importance to them than the former town, and consequently no trouble or expense was probably spared by them to render the town capable of resisting all attack.

In addition to its great strength as a fortified city and its military importance, Lilybæum must also have possessed all the requisites of a large and wealthy commercial and social centre, the seat of Punic power in Sicily, and the meeting-place, as it was on various occasions, for diplomatic conference and treaty between the great rivals of the day.

¹ Cicero in *Divinatio Q. Cæcilium*, c. 12.

² Diod., *Frag.*, xxiv. 1.

In later times, when in the possession of the Romans, Lilybæum must have continued to be a place of considerable importance, and its grandeur seems to have been well maintained, for Cicero, who was a quæstor there in 75 B.C., speaks of the town as a "*splendidissima civitas*." ¹

Of the original fortifications and harbour of Lilybæum traces are to be seen at the present day, both on land and below water, near the sea-shore to the north and west of the present town of Marsala, where the old city had its port, and probably also its commercial centre. The present-day harbour lies to the south of the town, and on the opposite side of the promontory. In addition to the vestiges of the old fortification walls may also still be seen a considerable portion of the deep ditch or moat which protected those walls on the land side, or rather sides, for the town seems to have been of a quadrangular formation, with two sides facing the land and two facing the sea.

The old town seems to have covered a far greater area than the modern one does, for, in addition to what forms the site of the present town, it apparently occupied the whole of the wide expanse of land projecting further seaward towards Cape Boeo, and right down to the shore—a tract now given over, in great part, to cultivation, and serving also as a recreation ground for the inhabitants of Marsala.

On this stretch of open land, not far from the sea-shore to the westward of Marsala, and outside its walls, stands the small church of St John the Baptist, erected on a site above a grotto hewn in the rock, where the Cumæan Sibyl is said to have dwelt and died, her remains being buried on the spot. A spring of water is to be found in a small well in this grotto, the waters of which were supposed to impart the gift of prophecy to those who drank of them. Even to this day the spot is held to be sacred, and is visited by numbers of the Marsala townsfolk on the Eve of St John.

This spring is generally looked upon as having been the well referred to by Diodorus, when speaking of the landing of the Carthaginians, under Hannibal, at Lilybæum in 409 B.C.² It is

¹ Cicero, *Verr.*, v. 5.

² Diod., xiii. 54. Although the word *φρέατος* in the original has been rendered by some translators as "pond," and a patch of marshy land is shown by old maps to have

believed to be the well said to have been renowned among the ancients under the name of Lilyba, existing long before the foundation of Lilybæum, and supposed to have given its name both to the promontory and to the city.

Near the extreme point of the headland, the present Cape Boeo, are to be seen the remains of what would appear to have been a gateway and advanced towers.

The high bastions and other fortifications now to be seen around the present town of Marsala date from Norman times, although in later days, during the Spanish occupation, it was found necessary to repair and still further strengthen them. During this latter period, or in the years 1574 and 1575, on the discovery of the existence of the old port of Lilybæum, Carlo Aragona, then High Admiral of Sicily, caused the entrance of the harbour to be obstructed by a bar or artificial bank of rocks, as a precaution against a possible hostile invasion by sea from this quarter.¹

This was not the first time that the entrance to the ancient harbour had been obstructed, for the Romans, it will be remembered, attempted, though unsuccessfully, to block the approach to it, when besieging Lilybæum in 250 B.C.²

Traces of what would appear to have been a mole or breakwater are to be seen at the present day, below water, off the southern point of the Isola Lunga. They extend in a southerly direction towards Cape Boeo, and are commonly spoken of by the fishermen and boatmen of the Stagnone as part of the *muro romano*.

The old harbour of Lilybæum, though no doubt far superior to that of Motya, in its later days, can hardly at any time have been looked upon as a perfect one, and this fact no doubt induced the Carthaginians to construct a port at Drepanum. It seems undoubted that this latter harbour was made with the view of strengthening the position of Carthage as a sea-power, and ensuring

existed a little to the south of Lilybæum, and actually exists at the present day, there seems to be no good reason to suppose that the spot at which the Carthaginian general commenced marking out his camp was anywhere but that above mentioned, by the sacred spring in St John's Church.

¹ G. M. Columba, *I porti antichi della Sicilia*, pp. 45-46.

² Diod., *Frag.*, xxiv. 1.

her a suitable naval base on the north-west coast of Sicily, that of Lilybæum not being considered sufficient for the purpose.

It is greatly to be regretted that no systematic archæological exploration has yet been carried out on the site of Lilybæum, for, with the exception of a few excavations made some years ago by Cav. Lipari, under the guidance of Professor Salinas, little or nothing has been done in the way of archæological research in this spot, one which, like several others in Sicily, is practically untouched, and would probably prove a most interesting field of labour.

Specially interesting would it probably be to the student of Phœnician and Punic antiquity, if we may judge from the little that has already been discovered among the ruins of the old town and in its necropolis, and much might be learned which should prove of inestimable value concerning not only Lilybæum itself, but also regarding our own island of Motya, and indeed the whole history of the Phœnicians in Sicily.

Taking the place of Motya, as Lilybæum did, and continuing, in a way, its life-history, it would certainly not be too much to expect that much of this history, which is at present a sealed book to us, should thus be revealed and brought to light.

PART II

CHAPTER I

ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCH AT MOTYA IN THE PAST

BEFORE speaking of the excavations which have recently been undertaken and are now being carried out at Motya, it may be well to refer to what was previously known concerning the remains of the ancient city, and to say a few words regarding the ruins and other objects of archæological interest that have been discovered on the island and on the adjacent mainland prior to the present research.

As it will be necessary, however, to speak more at length of such ruins and other objects later on, when treating of the result of recent excavations and dealing with the subject in detail, we need not, for the present, do more than allude briefly to the more important of them.

Owing, possibly, in some measure at least, to a doubt and uncertainty which may still have been entertained on the part of many as to the island of San Pantaleo being really the site of ancient Motya, little comparatively seems ever to have been done in past years in the way of archæological research on the island, nor does any serious attempt ever appear to have been made to solve the question of the site of Motya conclusively by systematic excavation. This appears strange, and is the harder to understand when one considers the very palpable evidence of the pre-existence of a large and important city which is afforded by the ruined fortifications encircling the island, portions of which have, at various periods in the past, been laid bare and exposed to view.

Further evidence is, moreover, supplied by the remains that have been discovered on the neighbouring mainland at Birgi of a necropolis, which, to judge from its extent and importance, can have belonged only to a large town like Motya.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century some archæological exploration appears to have been carried out at Motya by order of Monsignor Alfonso Airoidi, then custodian of antiquities for the Val di Mazzara (one of the three great departments into which Sicily was at that time divided), and under the local direction of Barone Rosario Alagna, superintendent of antiquities for the province of Trapani; but the work does not seem to have been prosecuted with great zeal or to have been long continued, and nothing is heard of any further research being undertaken at Motya until of comparatively recent years.

Visits, it is true, on the part of archæologists and tourists have, from time to time, been paid to San Pantaleo, mainly, no doubt, with a view to acquiring some general knowledge of the island and its environment, but these have mostly been of a very superficial nature and not calculated to be attended with much success. Dr Schliemann, among others, paid Motya a visit in 1875 and actually excavated a little there, but the time he devoted to the work was too short to be productive of any noteworthy result.¹

Most of the ruins and other objects of interest, indeed, that have been discovered at Motya in the past have probably been come upon by chance, the result of the ploughing up of the soil for agricultural purposes, and not as the outcome of any purposely directed work.

The list of such ruins and objects of archæological interest is not a very long one, and may briefly be enumerated under two headings, one comprising the remains of masonry buildings and fixed structures, the other all smaller and portable articles. Chief among the former are the ruins of the fortifications, already referred to, encircling the island, and of which various writers on Sicilian archæology have made mention. These fortifications have been found in several parts along the shores of the island, and, by some authors, have rightly been supposed to extend completely round it.

One of the principal and most interesting discoveries that have been made at Motya has undoubtedly been that of the northern gateway of the town, with its two advanced towers or bastions,

¹ Cf. Schliemann, *Mykenae*, p. 87; Polizzi, *I monumenti d'antichità e d'arte della Provincia di Trapani*, p. 12 (Trapani, 1879).

formed of massive undressed blocks of natural rock, which, even in their present ruined state, stand forth boldly in their rude grandeur as an example of the bulwarks of a past age. These ancient defence works are probably among the few, we may venture to say, the very few, relics still remaining to us of the older Phœnicians, of the independent settlers who, from the land of Canaan, first came to Sicily and established themselves on its shores in the early period of Phœnician migration westward. As such, their archæological and historical value and importance cannot be too highly estimated or too carefully cherished.

Unlike Elymian Eryx, with its later Carthaginian walls, or Panormus and Solus, where, owing to subsequent occupations and their natural consequences, not a stone can be pointed out as having with certainty belonged to the days of the early Phœnician colonists, at Motya, on the contrary, utterly destroyed as we are led to believe it was in 397 B.C., and its site never subsequently occupied by a town, there is every reason to look upon many of the ruins that are found there as dating from the time of the early settlers.

Since the discovery of the defence walls, other traces of the older colonists have been brought to light at Motya, and many more, it is to be hoped, will eventually be forthcoming; and although, as shown in some cases, the work of the earlier inhabitants may have been subjected to modification by the later Carthaginians and in consequence of Greek influence, much of it no doubt still remains which is of the highest interest to us.

The date of the discovery of the north gateway and its towers seems to be unknown, the earliest mention we have of these ruins being apparently that contained in the French artist Houel's work on Sicily, published in 1782.¹ It may be that the discovery was made during the course of the archæological exploration just alluded to, as having been carried out at Motya by order of Monsignor Airoidi, under the direction of Barone Alagna, and

¹ Jean Houel, *Voyage pittoresque des îles de Sicile, de Malte et de Lipari*, 1782, vol. i., plate ix. Besides speaking of the north gate towers, Houel alludes briefly to some other portions of the Motya fortifications noticed by him, but his description of these is unfortunately somewhat vague and does not enable us to make out clearly what he actually saw.

perhaps shortly before Houel's visit to the island, though there is no record of it in the correspondence and official reports regarding these excavations which exist in the Communal Library of Palermo.

Traces of another gateway on the opposite or southern side of the island appear also to have been observed in past days, and mention is made of them by some of the authors already referred to, notably so by Schubring,¹ as likewise of the ruins of bastions and fortification works adjoining the gateway, but no attempt seems to have been made in former years to bring these ruins into clear evidence.

Of the remains of other constructions, whether public buildings or dwelling-houses, comparatively little seems to have been brought to light in past times, though blocks of well-squared stone have been found in considerable quantity, here and there, in various parts of the island, many of these blocks being of large size and carefully worked, some of them also showing signs of having been coated over with a fine white stucco.

Many such pieces of well-squared material, which must undoubtedly once have formed part of constructions at Motya, are to be seen at the present day, not only in some of the buildings on the island itself, but also in those of the adjacent mainland, both in the walls of dwelling-houses as well as in those of the salt-pans, so numerous in this neighbourhood.

To such an extent had the vandalic quarrying of stone from the ruins of ancient Motya reached about the middle of the eighteenth century that the Marsala Senate found it necessary to issue an edict prohibiting the removal of such building material from the island.

This quarrying at Motya is all the more to be deplored, seeing how little comparatively remains to us at the present day of the ruins of any Phœnician town. How few vestiges remain of such ruins in old Phœnicia itself is well known, while but few of Phœnicia's colonies have fared better in this respect than the mother country. The facility with which the remains of ancient cities, if uncared for, disappear in course of time is surprising. No better instance of this is perhaps to be found than in the case of Carthage, where almost all traces, above ground, not only of

¹ J. Schubring, *Motye—Lilybæum*, p. 61.



FIG. 1.—Archaic sculpture: lions and bull.

one but of two great cities, have gradually been swept away by the hand of man.

Special mention must here be made of a fine example of archaic Phœnician sculpture in sandstone (fig. 1) which was found, in

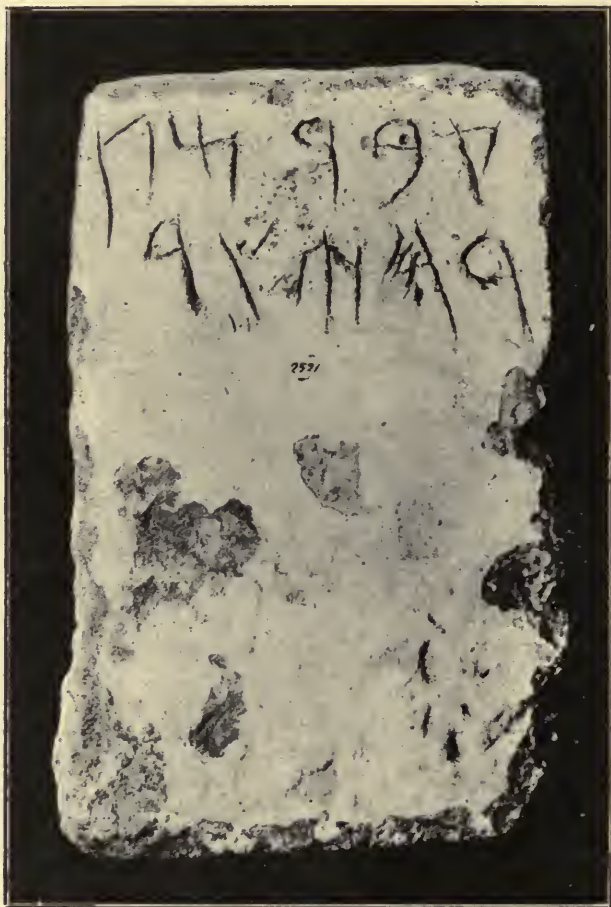


FIG. 2.—Phœnician inscription.

1793, on the island of Motya, and thence taken to Marsala, where it was deposited in the town hall, or, as it was then called, the "Casa Senatoria," of that town. Here it was kept for many years, together with a smaller block of sandstone, bearing a Phœnician inscription, that had been found at Motya in 1779 (fig. 2), and

which was supposed, though without sufficient reason, to have formed part of, or to have been connected with, the sculpture.

The subject represented by the former is a bull attacked by two wild beasts, apparently maneless lions, and, although now much worn by age and exposure, the work is full of life and still shows signs of considerable artistic treatment.

It is formed or composed of two separate sandstone blocks of about equal proportions, put together, though not joined, or showing signs of having previously been joined, by any cement. The two blocks together measure 1.44 m. in height and 1.80 m. in breadth at the widest part of their face front, while the depth or thickness of the blocks is 0.50 m.

It has been supposed by some authorities, notably by Cavallari,¹ that this fine piece of sculpture may have adorned the architrave of a gateway, possibly the northern gateway of Motya, like that of the celebrated "Lion Gate" at Mycenæ, and this is possible, although there is no evidence of it having done so. The north gateway of Motya, moreover, as now seen, is formed by double apertures and not by a single span, though it is true this fact would not, of itself alone, be a conclusive argument against the supposition; as the sculpture might have been placed in the middle above the double gateway, supposing it to have been spanned by a lintel.

It is to be regretted that no mention appears to have been made of the exact spot on the island where this sculpture was found in 1793, the original reports of Barone Alagna, then superintendent of excavations for the province of Trapani, merely notifying the discovery of the two blocks separately at Motya, and stating that they had been sent to Marsala, for safe custody in the "Casa Senatoria" or town hall.²

Judging from his reports, Barone Alagna does not appear at first to have recognised that the two blocks belonged to one and the same piece of sculpture, and that they formed one group; in any case, he does not allude to this at the time of making his reports. He must, however, surely have recognised the fact later on, and,

¹ F. S. Cavallari, *Bull. IV. Commissione Antichità e Belle Arti di Sicilia*, p. 25.

² M. S. Gioacchino Di Marzo, *Bib. Com. Palermo, in litteris Barone Alagna a Monsignor Alfonso Airoidi*.

at the same time, seen that the animal seized by the wild beasts was a bull and not a horse, as it would appear he had imagined on meeting with the first portion discovered of the sculpture.

The device of a bull attacked by two lions appears to have been not at all an uncommon one with the Phœnicians. It is to be found on terracotta pieces discovered amongst the ruins of Motya, as also among those of Lilybæum.¹

The small block of stone bearing a Phœnician inscription, which for several years had been kept, together with the sculpture, in the Marsala town hall, appears to have been first recorded by Torremuzza² as having been discovered at San Pantaleo, or Motya, in 1779; but no mention was made of the particular spot on the island where it had been found, nor have we any information as to this beyond what Smyth³ tells us of his having heard that it had been found near the causeway leading from the north gate to the mainland.

The block, which measures only 0·64 m. in height, 0·40 m. in breadth, and 0·15 m. in thickness, is not at all carefully cut or worked. It is of yellow sandstone, but, until its recent removal to the Motya Museum, had its face coated over with white plaster, probably applied to it in the Marsala town hall when the walls of that building were whitewashed!

The inscription on it is very lightly incised, hardly more than scratched, in fact, and is picked out with red pigment.

It has been pronounced, and no doubt rightly so, by authorities such as Gesenius⁴ and Ugdulena⁵ to be a sepulchral epitaph, the former translating it thus: "*Sepulchrum Marzori figuli*,"⁶ while the latter gives it a somewhat different interpretation, and translates it as a dedication to *Mether*, possibly the Persian divinity Mithras, a deity apparently held in great account in Phœnicia

¹ F. S. Cavallari, *Sulla topografia di talune città Greche in Sicilia*, p. 56, footnote.

² Gabriele Lancilotto Castelli, Principe di Torremuzza, *Sicilia et objacentium insularum veterum inscriptionum nova collectio*, p. 323.

³ Capt. W. H. Smyth, R.N., *Memoir of Sicily and its Islands*, 1824, p. 236.

⁴ Guglielmus Gesenius, *Scripturæ linguæque phœnicicæ monumenta quot quot supersunt*, p. 161.

⁵ Abate Gregorio Ugdulena, *Sulle monete Punico-Sicule*, 1857, p. 47.

⁶ According to the *Corpus Ins. Semit.* (No. 137, plate xxix.), it is "*Sepulchrum Matari figuli*."

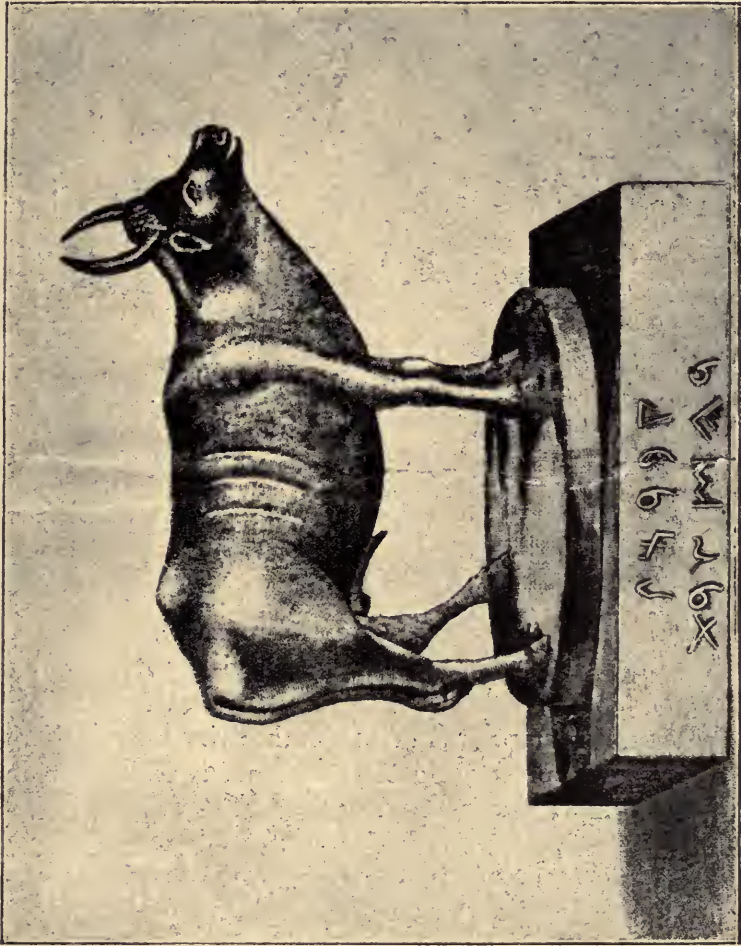


FIG. 3.—Gold statuette of a bull.

and generally throughout the East. An almost identical inscription appears to have been found on the base of a small gold statuette representing the figure of a bull, said to have been discovered at Segesta, which was for some years in the collection of the late Prince Trabia of Palermo, but of which the authenticity has been questioned, and the statuette itself has since disappeared or been lost (fig. 3). For a photograph of it I am indebted to the present Prince Trabia.¹

It was no doubt the discovery of this inscription, in connection with the figure of a bull, an animal sacred to Mithras, that caused Ugdulena to attribute the dedication of the Motyan epitaph to that deity. In any case, there can be but little doubt of the votive or dedicative significance of the inscription, and the stone bearing it may have been a stele, though no other inscribed stele has so far been met with on the island.

As to the possibility of this inscribed stone having formed part of the archaic sculpture, beyond the fact of its having been kept together with it for several years in the Marsala town hall, there appears to be no reason whatever to connect it with that work. Apart from the fact of its having been discovered fourteen years before the sculpture, there is nothing, either in the general appearance of the stone or in the wording of the inscription, to lead one to connect the two. Both sculpture and inscription are now preserved in the local museum at Motya, having very wisely been removed from their recent quarters in the Marsala town hall and restored by the Marsala municipal authorities to their original home. A plaster reproduction of the former is to be seen in the National Museum at Palermo.

¹ Apparently no less than three of these small statuettes, representing the figure of a bull, are said to have been discovered at Segesta, two in gold and the third in bronze; and one of the two former is still preserved in the Naples National Museum, under the inventory number 24,852. The authenticity, however, of none of these statuettes has been established, but, on the contrary, they have all been supposed, and even declared, by competent authorities to be false. Both the gold statuettes bore inscriptions, but differing from each other, while that in bronze was said to be without any inscription. (Cf. Orti G. Girolamo, *Illustrazione medaglia inedita spettante Segesta e di due tori trovati nelle rovine della stessa città*, Verona, 1828; Ugdulena, *Sulle monete Punico-Sicule*, Palermo, 1857; Gesenius, *Monumenta phœnicia*, pp. x-xi; Longperier, *Comptes rendus Acad. Inscr.*, Paris, 1869, pp. 147-148; Gilde-meister in *Epigraphische Nachrichten*, A. xxiii., 1869, p. 154.)

Among the comparatively few remains of masonry work that have been found at Motya in past years, other than the ruins of fortifications, may be mentioned those of some hydraulic constructions, such as wells and cisterns, as well as roughly made watercourses.

Though Motya is said to have been provided with a supply of good drinking water, which was conveyed in lead pipes, across the sea, from the opposite mainland heights of Racalia,¹ the city was no doubt dependent, to a considerable extent, on rain-water, and probably had a fairly complete system of wells and cisterns on the island.

In support of the supposition that Motya was provided with water from the mainland, it is stated that pieces of lead piping have been found in the sea and on the shores between the island and the eastern mainland coast.

Other pieces of metal piping have been found in the sea in the vicinity of the causeway between Motya and Birgi, and one such piece which had been brought up by a fisherman's net in 1895, and presented to the Marsala municipality, is now in the Motya Museum, having been deposited there, together with other antique objects from Motya and Lilybæum, by the Marsala town authorities. It measures 31 cm. in length and 4 cm. in diameter. Possibly drinking water may have been first conveyed to Motya by means of a submarine pipe from the eastern mainland, and afterwards, on the construction of the causeway to Birgi, by piping laid along that road.

If Motya was really supplied with fresh spring-water in this way—and it is quite possible that it was so—its inhabitants were as well off in this respect as were those of Tyre and Aradus, and they were certainly more fortunate than were the early Carthaginians, for the latter, we are told, drank nothing but rain-water, and were entirely dependent on their cisterns for their water supply. The remains of aqueducts found in the neighbourhood of the site of Carthage belong to a later period.

¹ The name Racalia, or Regalia, as it is sometimes called, is probably derived from the Arabic. The district, besides being celebrated for its abundant supply of pure spring-water, boasts of a charming *casina*, or old-fashioned country-house, with a picturesque terraced garden, the property of the author's family.

Many southern and oriental towns, even at the present day, are no better off for water than Carthage was, and are entirely dependent on their cisterns, which receive the rain from the flat-roofed or terraced house-tops.

Coming now to the smaller and portable objects of archaeological interest that have been met with at Motya in times gone by, it is, unfortunately, presumable that comparatively but a very small proportion of such articles have been preserved and are still available for inspection in collections. The greater part of them have probably been disposed of, at the time of their discovery, by the peasants and inhabitants of the district, either by sale to dealers or otherwise, and have thus been dispersed and are lost to science.

Among the few objects which fortunately escaped this fate, besides those collected by the author himself, are some which were collected by the Cav. Lipari and others and were eventually preserved in the Marsala town library rooms. A portion of these are now in the Motya Museum, having been deposited there by the Marsala municipality. Further mention will be made of some of them when speaking of the Motya Museum contents.

Besides what has been brought to light at Motya itself, either by purposely directed research or by the peasants when engaged in agricultural work, objects of archaeological interest have also been found, from time to time, on the mainland facing the north coast of the island, and notably in the so-called Birgi district,¹ where, as already stated, Motya appears to have had an extensive necropolis.

The Palermo National Museum contains a few objects of interest which were discovered at Motya and Birgi in the course of some excavations carried out there during the years 1865, 1869, and 1872. They are chiefly of terracotta ware, such as vases and

¹ Birgi is a fertile district bordering the northern coast of the so-called *Stagnone di Marsala*, and is supposed, though hardly with sufficient reason, to take its name from the Punic word *byrsa*, meaning a castle or stronghold—in allusion possibly to some such edifice which may once have existed there. The small river of ancient times known as the *Acitbius*, now the *Fiume Birgi*, still runs through the district.

fragments of vases, masks, ornamental low-relief sculpture, loom-weights, and lucernæ. Similar examples have been met with in certain abundance during the excavations which have recently been made on the island and at Birgi. These are preserved in the Motya Museum, and the more important of them will be treated in detail in the concluding chapter of this work.

CHAPTER II

SUMMARY OF RECENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCH AT MOTYA

IN Chapter IV. of Part I. a brief topographical description of the island of Motya has been given, which, with the aid of the accompanying map and plans, will, it is hoped, enable the reader to follow without difficulty the following short summary or outline of the excavations which have recently been undertaken and are now being carried out on the island.

This work was commenced in the year 1906, and, as required by Italian law, under the supervision of the State, represented by Professor Antonino Salinas, the late well-known Director of the Palermo National Museum, the local direction of the work being entrusted to the Cavaliere Giuseppe Lipari-Cascio, of Marsala, who for years past has devoted himself assiduously and with the keenest interest to archæological research in this part of Sicily.

It may perhaps be well here to observe, in parenthesis, that the excavations at Motya, though started under favourable auspices and attended with considerable success at the outset, have of recent years been brought to an almost complete standstill by the war and its consequences, and the work has necessarily not progressed as rapidly as it might otherwise have done.

The results obtained, however, are not without encouragement, as may be gathered on visiting the island and the small local museum that has been erected there for the custody of the smaller and more portable objects of interest that have been discovered at Motya and in its neighbourhood.

The museum has a section devoted specially to Lilybæum, from the site of which a good deal of archæological material had been acquired prior to the undertaking of excavations at Motya.

Among the numerous objects of interest to be seen in this section are some forming part of a collection belonging to the town of Marsala, which, as in the case of the archaic sculpture and the Phœnician inscription, spoken of in the preceding chapter, have been deposited, for the time being, in the Motya Museum.



FIG. 4.—Marble vase from Lilybæum.

Not the least important of these objects is a fine vase of white marble, sometimes called "The Marsala Vase," once the property of the Grignani family, from whom it was acquired by the Marsala town authorities.

This vase (fig. 4), which is a beautiful specimen of Greek art, and apparently served as a cinerary urn, cremated remains being

said to have been found in it, seems to have been discovered in a spot adjoining the present bastion of St Francis at Marsala, which formed part of the Lilybæum necropolis, or of one of its cemeteries. The land here belonged formerly to the Counts of Grignani, from whom it was eventually purchased by the town of Marsala. A sarcophagus of an ancestor of this family, by name Antonio Grignani, or Grignano, as the name was sometimes spelled, dated 1474, is to be seen in the Marsala church of La Carmine.

The vase measures 0·70 m. in height and 0·42 m. in diameter at its mouth, and is fortunately in a fairly good state of preservation. No cover was found with it, nor is the shape of the vase one that called for a cover; but when discovered, serving, as it appears to have done, as a cinerary urn, it is said to have been found with its pedestal or base, which is detachable, taken off and put on the top, to cover its contents.

Smyth, writing of this vase in 1824, says: "The widow of Count Grignone (*sic*) is in possession, among other curiosities, of a superb and uninjured alabaster (*sic*) vase, which she very willingly permits strangers to see; she has been offered, to my knowledge, a thousand dollars for it, but she says, that not being in want of money, she may as well keep the vase." ¹

Returning to the Motya excavations, all preliminary arrangements having been completed and the necessary permission from Government obtained, work was finally commenced at Motya in the spring of 1906, the low cliffs or banks bordering the east coast of the island being the part to which attention was first devoted. The selection of the coast-line for a start appeared to be indicated by the obvious importance of obtaining further and more complete knowledge regarding the ruins of fortifications that had already been discovered around the island, before breaking new ground, so to say, and starting on absolutely fresh work further inland.

Proceeding in a southerly direction along the east coast, explorations were made in various spots along the line of fortifications, with a view to ascertaining the extent and importance of the constructions generally, and in particular of determining the question of the continuity of the defence walls completely round

¹ Smyth, *Sicily and its Islands*, p. 229.

the island, although as to this latter point there was, indeed, but little doubt.

In addition to the ruins of such walls which were met with at every point where explorations were made, and which in some parts are now surmounted by low modern walls of stone, loosely put together by the peasants, numerous remains of projecting towers and bastions were found at varying intervals apart, as well as two flights of stairs leading from the fortifications down to the sea-shore. Adjoining these flights of steps were found the ruins of habitations, which were probably once guard-houses, those in one case being at the top, and in the other at the foot of the stairs. Detailed particulars of these staircases and the adjoining buildings will be given further on. Meanwhile it may be observed that throughout the entire line of fortifications, and specially so in some parts, evidence exists of the walls having been considerably strengthened or restored at some period subsequent to their original construction.

This, after all, is not surprising when one considers what changes Motya must have undergone during its life-history. In the early period of its existence, when, presumably, little more than a trading station, and one possibly looked upon as merely a temporary settlement, Motya probably had no protection of any kind beyond that afforded by its insular position. Later on, after the site had been found to be a suitable one for commercial enterprise and a permanent colony had been established there, walls of a primitive type will have been built around the town, and as this grew in size and importance, so will its fortifications have been improved and made more perfect. Still later, and particularly after Motya had come under the protecting ægis of Carthage, a thorough revision of its defences will probably have ensued, and the city will have been transformed into the stronghold which experience had taught its rulers was necessary if Punic power and authority were to be maintained in Sicily.

Following on the exploration of the eastern coast-line came that of the southern shores, where the fortifications were found to be similar to those previously met with, though no more stairs were discovered.

A highly important piece of work accomplished here, however, was the excavation and bringing into clear evidence of the remains of what must have been a fine gateway situated at the southern extremity of the island, traces of which, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, had already been previously observed, though, strange to say, they had never been followed up, nor had the ruins found in this neighbourhood been opened out at all.

This gateway is flanked on either side by the remains of what must once have formed important bastions and towers, these, together with the adjoining walls, having apparently been surmounted by battlements of no mean order, portions of which are to be seen in the massive blocks of stone, rounded on their upper part, which have been found lying at the foot of the walls in this spot.

As the northern gateway of Motya must have served chiefly, if not entirely, for communication with the opposite shore by road, and may, therefore, rightly have been distinguished as the land gate, so may this southern gateway, facing seaward, as it did, and apparently serving solely for sea-traffic, have been looked upon as the sea gate.

On the same side of the island, and at but a very short distance westward of the south gateway, another most interesting discovery was shortly afterwards made, a channel or waterway, flanked on each side by solidly built quays, being found, leading from the sea to an inland and artificially constructed quadrangular basin of water.

This basin, which had previously been looked upon as of comparatively recent formation, or, in any case, as not belonging to remote times, would seem to have been an inland harbour, or *cotthon*, and it probably served as a shelter for the Motyan vessels in bad weather, as well as a dock for repairing ships when necessary.

For many years past it had been used as a salt-pan, and indeed it was commonly known as the *Salinella*, or little salt-pan, being then connected with the sea by a very narrow channel of not more than a couple of feet in width, which was sufficient for the purpose required. By some authorities this basin was supposed to date

from the time of the Jesuit occupation of Motya, and to have then served as a *piscina*, or fish reservoir. As shown, however, by the recently discovered channel connecting it with the outer sea, whatever purpose this basin may have served in more recent times, it must undoubtedly once have formed an inland harbour, and one, moreover, constructed apparently at the same period as the fortifications and other buildings in its neighbourhood.

Of this there would seem to be little doubt. The fine and well-squared blocks of which the quays are built are identical in material and in their workmanship with those found in the later fortifications and other constructions of the town; while the evidence which is apparent of the channel having been purposely obstructed also points to a pre-siege existence.

Continuing the circuit of the island, and turning to the west side of Motya, it may be stated that little, so far, has been done here in the way of exploration beyond what has been sufficient to eliminate all doubt regarding the continuity of the fortifications completely round the island.

For a tract, however, of about one hundred and forty metres on this side the low cliffs bordering the sea-shore appear to have been partly destroyed or washed away by the action of the water below them, and traces only now remain of the fortification ruins in this spot. The greater part of the material which must once have formed these fortifications has disappeared, carried off, no doubt, for building purposes elsewhere.

Here and there along this western coast some large, well-squared blocks of stone have been found, which must have once formed part of important constructions, the entity of which remains to be determined by future excavations. In one of these spots on the west coast the foundations are to be seen of what would appear to have been another, though less important, gateway, with buildings, possibly guard-houses, attached to it; but further exploration is necessary before any positive opinion can be formed concerning these remains. Should there, as seems probable, have been a gateway here, seeing that these ruins stand at some height above the sea-level, there must have been a roadway, or more likely a

flight of steps, leading down to the sea-shore; but, owing to the cliffs having been washed away, it is difficult to tell what really existed in this spot.

The remains of what would appear to have been another small gateway leading into the town have also been recently discovered on the east of the island, and close to the present landing-place; but, as in the case of the apparent western gateway just mentioned, until further exploration has been carried out, little can be said regarding this eastern entrance.

Judging, however, from what has so far been brought to light, it would appear that Motya, in addition to her two main entrances, one on the north and the other on the south, had other minor approaches to the town, on the east and west; but whether these were for the public use or were reserved for the garrison only, it is not easy to say at present.

Proceeding still further round the island and coming to its northern shores, though before reaching the north gateway already spoken of, an important and interesting discovery has recently been made of a necropolis, the existence of which was previously unknown, or had never before been recorded. The discovery of this necropolis was quite unexpected, for it had hitherto been supposed that the only cemetery of Motya was that which had been found on the opposite mainland of Birgi, where, for years past, sarcophagi and fragments of tombs have been met with in considerable number by the peasantry in the course of agricultural work.

It seems probable that the necropolis now brought to light on the island of Motya itself, which is one on the basis of incineration, and apparently of an early date, was the original burial-ground of the early Phœnician settlers, and that it was only on the colony growing larger, and the entire area of the island being required for habitations, that the ancient necropolis was abandoned and Birgi resorted to, as offering a site more adapted to the requirements of the rapidly expanding city.

The importance of this recent discovery cannot be too highly estimated, for, as well known, it is to their cemeteries that we have to look for much of our knowledge and information concerning

ancient cities and communities ; while the acquisition of this knowledge and information is doubly precious in the case of a town like Motya, of which so little has been recorded, or rather, we should perhaps say, has unfortunately been handed down to us by history.

Another highly interesting discovery which has still more recently been made on the island is that of a burial-ground which would appear to have been devoted to the interment of the remains chiefly of domestic animals, possibly victims of sacrificial offerings. The site of this cemetery, which is situated on the northern coast, somewhat to the west of the early necropolis just spoken of, has, however, so far only been partially explored, and little of a positive nature can therefore be said concerning it at present. Further mention will be made of this burial-ground in a later chapter.

Coming to the north gate, some interesting work has recently been carried out, not only in opening out the actual gateway itself, with its protecting bastions and adjoining constructions, but also in excavating the street extending inland to a spot generally known by the name of *Cappiddazzu*, situated about one hundred metres from the gate. The direction of this street, as so far ascertained, is almost due north and south, and should it be found to continue in a straight line to the opposite side of the island, as it very possibly does, it would lead to the south gateway or its immediate vicinity. In any case, one may venture to suppose that this street formed one of the main arteries of the town, possibly its chief thoroughfare, and if such was the case, one is justified in supposing that some of the principal buildings of Motya may have existed in its neighbourhood. The foundations and other remains of what must have been buildings of considerable importance have indeed already been brought to light at a spot situated about one hundred metres south of the north gateway, but, until the work of excavation has proceeded further, little of a positive nature can be said regarding them.

In addition to the work recently carried out at the north entrance itself, an examination has also been made of the ancient causeway or road connecting the island with the mainland. The remains of this road, which, it will be remembered, was destroyed

by the Motyans themselves at the commencement of the great siege of Motya in 397 B.C., and afterwards reconstructed by Dionysius, may still plainly be seen below the surface of the water, particularly when it is at a low level; for, although there may be no true tide in the Mediterranean, there certainly is considerable variation in the level of the sea, and in the Stagnone this is at times very marked, amounting to as much as two feet or more.¹

The causeway did not apparently run in a perfectly straight line between the island and the mainland, but curved slightly in a westerly direction, just after leaving the island shore, continuing thus for a short distance before assuming a straight course northwards. The peasants who live in the neighbourhood constantly cross over from the mainland to the island in carts by this road, or rather alongside of it, where it is more sandy and smoother than on the road itself, the water in no part, as a rule, being over two or three feet deep.

The length of this causeway, from shore to shore, was about fifteen hundred metres, and its breadth ten metres. One or two courses of its foundations may still be seen in some spots at the present day, a considerable portion of the material forming the foundations being now below the level of the sand, which here forms the sea-bed. At a still lower level below the sand a thick stratum of clay or mud is to be found, on perforating the crust of which the sounding-rod penetrates for over two metres without reaching hard rock. This clay or mud is of a blackish colour and pungent smell, both due, no doubt, to the decomposed marine vegetation of past centuries.

The road, or what must have been its foundation, would appear to have been constructed mainly of blocks and slabs of

¹ Smyth (*op. cit.*, p. 228), speaking of the Stagnone, alludes to an uncertain tide noticeable there, which he says generally runs from three-quarters of a mile to a mile and a half an hour, according to the winds, and sometimes has a rise and fall of from ten to twenty inches, and in very fresh breezes even more, this being influenced but not governed by the moon. According to a careful study and investigation carried out some years ago by a commission specially appointed to inquire into the physical conditions of the Stagnone, the medium rise in the tide here may be considered as fluctuating between 20 and 25 cm., though at certain times reaching as much as 50 cm. (*Lo Stagnone di Marsala*, Relazione dei Sig.^{ri}. Bullo, Carazzi, Lo Bianco e Vinci-guerra, 1899.)

natural sea-rock, though in one spot several squared blocks are to be seen, and probably a good deal of such worked material entered into the construction of the road when intact. This road-bed is well preserved throughout a certain portion of its course, though it is partially wanting in some parts and totally so in others. In two spots the road material has evidently been removed to allow of the passage of small craft.

With the exception of the opening out of the street leading inland from the north gate, the only other work of any note recently carried out which has not been either actually on the sea-shore or close to it, has been the excavation of the ruins of some buildings on the south-eastern slope of the island. Here have been found the remains, chiefly foundations of walls and pavements, of what would appear to have been one or more dwelling-houses of some importance, belonging to the better classes, and apparently dating from a time when Greek art had already penetrated into the colony and fairly established itself there.

In one spot here an interesting mosaic pavement has been discovered, which is entirely composed of natural pebbles of different colours, depicting animals of various species, the whole being surrounded by an ornamental border, also formed of natural pebbles.

Further details, both of the ruins excavated at the spot called *Cappiddazzu*, as well as of those dwelling-houses, will be given in another chapter. Meanwhile, it is presumable that, as the work of exploration penetrates further inland, many other similar buildings will be found showing signs of Greek influence. So far no ruins of any Greek temple have been met with at Motya, but there appears to be reason to suppose that such temples may have existed on the island, although the passage in Diodorus ¹ which has so often been quoted in support of this supposition cannot be accepted as conclusive testimony of their existence, for the temples of the deities which were revered alike by Greeks and by Phœnicians may have belonged to the latter equally as well as to the former. Considering, however, the not inconsiderable number of Greeks whom we are led to believe lived at Motya, it is natural to suppose that they may have had their own place of worship,

¹ Diod., xiv. 53.

apart from those of the Phœnicians, and it is quite possible that some of them may have been used also by the Phœnicians, in the same way as some of the Phœnician holy places may have been used by the Greeks.

That a certain measure of reciprocal toleration and even acceptance of the other's religion existed between the two peoples seems to be undoubted, though to what extent it was carried it is difficult to say.

The intercourse between Greeks and Phœnicians in Sicily in the earlier days, and between Greeks and Carthaginians later on, was no doubt considerable, and the two races, though often at enmity, especially during the latter period, at other times seem to have lived in harmony with each other, each assimilating from the other what it may have thought good or advantageous for its own people. Thus it is not surprising to find, as in some other matters, such as arts and industries, so also in that of religion each nation was ready to accept and, to a certain degree, conform to the views and practices of the other.

In addition to the research which has recently been carried out at Motya itself, some excavations have also been undertaken on the adjoining mainland at Birgi, where, as already stated, the Motyans appear to have had an important necropolis, and where, from time to time in past years, the remains of tombs have been brought to light, chiefly by the peasants engaged in agricultural work.

Some superficial exploration has also been made on the neighbouring small island of Santa Maria, though, so far, with but meagre results.

It seems strange that no traces of Phœnician occupation should yet have been found either on this or on the larger island now known as the Isola Lunga. If not perhaps of actual occupation or settlement, one might at least have expected to meet with some indication of the Phœnicians having been in the habit of visiting these islands, and of their having had dealings and intercourse with the inhabitants of them, for one can hardly believe that these islands were entirely untenanted in the days of Motya. It is

indeed difficult to understand how such sites, within a few minutes' sail of Motya, should not have been utilised by the Motyans, on the growth of their city, as a home for their surplus population.

The result of the archæological work that has recently been carried out, both at Motya and at Birgi, will be given in the following chapters, together with plans and illustrations of the more important and interesting discoveries.

Meanwhile, and in conclusion, it may be observed that the knowledge and information acquired from the research recently carried out at Motya tend to remove any doubt that may hitherto have existed with regard to this island having been the site of the ancient Phœnician town.

The land-locked bay, now known by the name of the "Stagnone di Marsala," has been found to correspond perfectly to the description of the haven spoken of by ancient writers, while the remains of the causeway which once connected the island with the mainland are still visible and bear silent testimony to the accuracy of those writers' statements.

The numerous ruins of fortifications and other constructions that have been found *in situ* not only prove the pre-existence of a strongly fortified city, extending over the whole island, but also afford proof of the fierce siege which the city must have sustained, as well as of the precautionary measures adopted by its inhabitants for their defence. The material of which those constructions are built and their varied style of architecture afford evidence of the steady growth and expansion of the original Phœnician colony, and of its gradual development from a mere trading station into the large and important city which was eventually destined to become the chief bulwark and stronghold of Punic power in Sicily.

The antiquity of Motya is attested by the material found in its early-period necropolis, as well as by various features of its ruins; while evidence of the importance and prosperity to which the town must have attained, in what may be called its second period, is afforded by the numerous remains of its more recent constructions and by what has been found in the later necropolis at Birgi.

These two burial-grounds, besides supplying valuable chronological data, assist us in reconstructing the history of Motya and enable us to form some idea of the various phases through which the colony must have passed before attaining its final status as a wealthy and prosperous city.

Besides establishing, practically beyond all doubt, the identity of Motya, recent research has still further confirmed the opinion previously entertained as to Greek influence having been dominant in this city, not only during the periods when peace reigned between Greek and Phœnician, but even at other times when the two were in open conflict with each other.

Apart from what is told us by Diodorus¹ of Greeks serving in the ranks of the Carthaginians during Motya's last terrible struggle, and the mention of Greek temples or sanctuaries on the island, of which we have already spoken in this chapter, both important in themselves, strong evidence of Hellenic art and customs having ruled here is to be found in the buildings and architectural work of the town. Thus the only private dwelling of any importance which has so far been brought to light at Motya is distinctly Greek in its style and architecture, while the more modern portions of the fortification walls and other constructions, apparently of the same period, also show unmistakable signs of Greek influence. The remains of Greek terracotta ware are numerous both at Motya and at Birgi, and the only inscriptions that have so far been met with in the necropolis of the latter district are in archaic Greek.

That Greek influence should have thus penetrated into Motya is, after all, not surprising when one considers the characteristic readiness of the Phœnician to enter into commercial dealings and relations with others, and how even at Carthage itself Hellenic influence eventually made itself felt so largely, even to the extent of bringing about the adoption of the cult of Greek deities and the establishment of a Greek priesthood to direct that cult.²

¹ Diod., xiv. 53.

² *Ib.*, xiv. 63 and 77.

CHAPTER III

THE FORTIFICATIONS OF MOTYA

LIMITED as our knowledge is concerning Motya during its life-history, we fortunately have the consolation, sad though it may be, of possessing a fairly detailed account of its last days, when, as the chief stronghold and representative of Carthaginian power in Sicily, the island city withstood a protracted siege against the opposing might of the whole of Greek Sicily which was brought against it by the elder Dionysius.

Our first notice of Motya as a fortified town appears to be that contained in the account given by Diodorus of Hermocrates' expedition in Western Sicily, towards the close of the fifth century B.C., when, after recapturing Selinus, the great Syracusan leader raided the territory of Motya, killing several of its inhabitants and driving the remainder within their walls.¹ From this passage, however, beyond the bare information it conveys of Motya having been, at that time, a walled city, we learn nothing regarding the defences of the town, nor indeed is very much to be learned concerning them from the account of the siege and fall of Motya which is given us by Diodorus later on.²

From the little, however, which is here told us, and from the detailed information previously given by Diodorus³ regarding the vast and elaborate preparations made by Dionysius for this campaign, as well as from such evidence as is afforded by the ruins of the fortifications themselves, it may be gathered that Motya's defences, though perhaps not equal to those which the Tyrant had himself recently raised at Syracuse, and still less to those of some other ancient Oriental cities, were none the less of such

¹ Diod., xiii. 63.

² *Ib.*, xiv. 47 *seqq.*

³ *Ib.*, xiv. 41-43.

strength and importance as to call forth every effort on the part of the Greek forces assailing them on the occasion of this memorable siege.

In his preparations for the attack on Motya, Dionysius appears to have displayed great resourcefulness and personal activity, sparing no effort in order to bring together such an array of men, ships, and war material as had never previously been known in Sicily. In addition to the catapults, his own or his engineers' special invention, which were now about to be used for the first time, all the usual siege appliances, one may be sure, were perfected as far as they possibly could be. Dionysius, from his personal knowledge and experience in all matters connected with fortifications, will have known exactly what was required to bring about the desired result and ensure the attainment of his aims.

The overthrow and destruction of Motya was undoubtedly his main object in this campaign, for he counted on all the other Punic dependencies in Sicily surrendering as soon as the island stronghold had been overcome,¹ and, as a matter of fact, on the fall of Motya the campaign appears to have ended, and Dionysius returned to Syracuse.

Preparatory to making his attack on Motya, the Tyrant would presumably not have neglected to obtain such information as was possible concerning the defences of the town. Indeed, as the intimate friend and follower of Hermocrates, one of the few trusted comrades who had accompanied the latter in his attempt to reinstate himself at Syracuse, it is by no means unlikely that Dionysius may also have accompanied Hermocrates in his expedition to recapture Selinus, and in the subsequent raid in Phœnician territory, and in this case he may actually have already seen the walls of Motya with his own eyes and gauged their capabilities of resistance.

Be this as it may, there can be but little doubt that at this, the last period of its history, Motya's defences must have been, or were in course of being rendered, as complete and as strong as it was possible to make them under existing circumstances, and that no part of the island will have been left inadequately protected or

¹ Diod., xiv. 49.

incapable of withstanding the assault which was doubtless looked upon by its citizens as bound to come sooner or later.

The exploration which has recently been made along the shores of Motya has confirmed this, and shows that an efficient and uniform system of fortifications extended completely round the island, remains of the old walls having been found throughout the entire line of defence, except for a tract of about one hundred and forty metres on the western shore, where the low cliffs or banks bordering the coast have given way and fallen down, although even here traces of the walls may still be seen in some spots. The subsidence or collapse of the cliffs in this part has probably been due to the ravages of time and weather, this side of the island being much exposed to strong westerly gales ; while it is easy to understand that the material which once formed the walls, strewn, as it must have been, on the underlying shore, will in course of time have been carried off for building purposes elsewhere.

The defence scheme of Motya, one planned on simple lines from the first, although, no doubt, considerably strengthened in later times, probably retained something of its original and primitive character to the last, and was never completely transformed. The restricted area of the island allowed of but little scope for any amplification. Every square foot of land was precious for building purposes, nor was it possible, apparently, to sink any moat or even to raise a double line of walls. The triple line of walls and ditches prescribed by the latest rules of the art of military fortification was of course out of the question, as was equally so any approach, even the faintest, to the elaborate system of mural defence carried out at Carthage, and even at some other Punic towns of minor importance. Motya had to be content with its simple fortifications and the relative immunity from danger which its insular position afforded it.

The lofty Motyan houses themselves, however, strongly built, as we are told they were,¹ seem to have constituted an inner line of defence, and during the great siege they appear to have enabled the sorely pressed citizens to prolong their resistance even after the outer walls of the town had been breached.

¹ Diod., xiv. 51.

Throughout a considerable portion of their circuit the fortifications apparently rose from the immediate vicinity, and in some cases from the actual level, of the sea, or but slightly above it, though for a certain tract on the northern and north-eastern coasts, and specially on either side of the northern gateway, the walls may possibly have stood back at a distance of several metres from the shore.¹

Possessing no commanding height or even undulating ground sufficient to form a point of vantage, Motya's resistance had to be carried out entirely at close quarters, or from its very walls; while the one great natural advantage which, as an island, it should have possessed, was unfortunately minimised, or in great part nullified, by the shallowness of its waters allowing an enemy's approach by land.

The actual fortifications of Motya appear to have been formed by a girdling wall around the enceinte and by advanced towers and bastions, mostly of a rectangular form, placed at varying though frequent intervals throughout the line of defence, and especially in the immediate vicinity of the gateways and other approaches to the town. Flights of steps or staircases have been found in two points of the fortifications, leading from these down to the sea-shore. Further mention will be made of these staircases later on in this chapter.

The circumference of the enceinte wall is about two thousand five hundred metres (more than a mile and a half), and the number of the towers, so far as can be seen at present, is twenty.

In the majority of cases little now remains of the towers except the lower part of their foundations, or just sufficient to enable one to trace their ground-plans. Between these towers, which, with the exception of those at the north gateway, appear to be all of a rectangular and equilateral form, there is some individual variation in point of size and development, though in other respects they are alike.

¹ The foreshore of Motya in certain parts has recently been somewhat extended beyond its original limits by the addition of the soil and debris from the excavations, which, after due consideration, it has been thought advisable to deposit along the island's shores in preference to elsewhere. Owing to this the original coast-line has been modified in some spots, and walls which once rose from the actual sea-shore now stand back a little way from it.

In their construction the defence walls vary considerably, some being of a very primitive type and belonging undoubtedly to an early period in the history of Motya,¹ others, showing a more advanced style of architecture, being certainly of a later date, while others again are evidently of a very recent period in Motya's history and indicate first-class workmanship, worthy of the best masters of the mason's craft.

That such variation should be met with is, after all, not surprising, for, as the Phœnician colony grew in size and importance, so will its needs and requirements also have increased, and the necessity for more effective protection from hostile attack have made itself felt. This need will have doubtless become particularly accentuated during the latter period of Motya's history, when the struggle between Greeks and Phœnicians for supremacy in Sicily was imminent, and when this city, as the stronghold of Phœnician or Punic power in the island, was bound to take every precaution for its safety and better protection.

The resources of Motya were probably considerable at this period, and the best workmen were no doubt employed for the purpose of strengthening the defences of the town. Both Greek and Carthaginian artisans were presumably available for the work, as the old Phœnician colony had then become practically a Punic dependency, while the Greek residents in the town were apparently numerous at this time.

In the preceding chapter allusion has been made to the Motyan fortifications, particularly those in certain parts, showing signs of having been strengthened or restored at some period or periods subsequent to their original construction. Evidence of such restoration is indeed to be found throughout the entire line of defence, though it is more marked, perhaps, on the northern and north-eastern coasts than elsewhere on the island. This will be

¹ Cf. Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. ii. pp. 226 and 255; Pausanias, *op. cit.*, ii. 25. Renan (*Mission de Phénicie*, p. 696 and plate i.) alludes to buildings at Oum el-Aouamid in South Phœnicia, the construction of which, to judge from the plate given, greatly resembles that of our Motyan towers. These buildings have, by good authorities, been referred to a so-called Cyclopean period, though Renan himself appears to have differed from this opinion and considered the construction to be of a comparatively recent date, though built with the material of old ruins found on the spot.

readily understood, as it was in this part of the island that the defence walls would appear to have stood back at some distance from the shore, and where consequently there was greater danger of attack than in other parts where the fortifications rose from the actual sea-shore.

When this restoration—or reconstruction, as it might almost be called, so far as regards certain spots—was effected it is not easy to say, and, indeed, it may very possibly have been carried out at different times. What is unquestionable, however, is that the well-built isodomon walls which are to be seen in various parts of the line of fortification, and which, as a rule, are to be found placed almost immediately in front of older walls, must belong to a late period of Motya's history. One may even venture to refer the construction of these walls, as also of the stairways found within the fortification lines, to the very latest period of Motya's existence, to that period when the city, under Carthaginian tutelage, if not absolute rule, was at the zenith of its power and importance, and when all that was possible was being done to render it a secure stronghold and to protect it against an enemy's attack.

Reviewed in detail, the fortifications of Motya may be said to belong to four or perhaps even five different types or styles of construction, which may roughly be described as follows.

Type A (fig. 5).—Bastions and towers formed externally of massive natural blocks of unworked stone or rock, placed in horizontal courses or layers, one above the other, without cement, but with the interstices filled in with small pieces of stone and earth-binding, the inner part of the towers being composed of smaller material. No real cement or mortar appears to have been employed in any of the defence works of Motya, but a rough binding formed of ordinary soil mixed with water, or practically earth-mud, seems to have been used in all but the well-squared stone walls.

Although almost in their natural state, these blocks, however, cannot be said to be wholly untouched by the workman's tool, for, in most cases, they show signs of having been slightly smoothed and dressed externally, so as to present a fairly regular and even

face-surface, the layers, moreover, being generally more or less carefully placed, with a view to observing the horizontal line, so marked a feature in Phœnician masonry.

The blocks vary greatly among themselves, both in shape as well as in their dimensions, some of them measuring as much as three metres in length by one metre in width and nearly the same in depth or height, while others are considerably smaller.



FIG. 5.—Type of wall A.

They are of a limestone formation, not compact limestone, but what is known among Sicilian builders as tenacious limestone.

An identical quality of stone is to be found on the adjacent mainland, not far from the Birgi district; and at a certain spot on the coast, called Nivaloro, a large number of blocks similar to those employed in the construction of the Motya fortifications may be seen, at the present day, lying on the shore, as if prepared for transport to the island (fig. 6).

At Motya itself the outer crust of the rock lying immediately

below the surface soil in some parts appears to be of the same geological formation, and doubtless a good deal of this local material was employed in building the fortifications.

The large unworked blocks seem to have been used mainly in the construction of the towers or bastions, although these advanced works were not always formed solely of large blocks, but were often composed in part of smaller material, the latter being generally



FIG. 6.—Blocks of stone prepared for the island.

placed above the former. In some cases, however, the contrary appears to have been the case, the smaller material being placed below the larger, and a good example of this is to be found in the remains of a tower adjoining the long staircase on the east of the island, where the large blocks which once formed the upper portion of the structure are found lying at the foot of the lower portion, which is still standing and which is composed of small-sized material.

Whether any of the Motyan towers were composed exclusively of large blocks it is difficult to say.

The foundations of the towers were generally formed of one



FIG. 7.—Type of wall B.



FIG. 8.—Type of wall C.

or two courses of roughly squared blocks, either of limestone or sandstone, while the inner part of most of these advanced works appears to have consisted, as a rule, of small material and rubble.

Type B (fig. 7).—Very roughly built walls formed of comparatively small-sized stone and rock of all descriptions, and of all shapes and sizes, loosely put together with earth-mud, the face-surface, however, considering the material employed, presenting a fairly even appearance, though the horizontal line of the courses, as a rule so dear to the Phœnician mason, has not been carefully observed.

The foundation of these walls is usually formed by a single layer of small and roughly cut sandstone blocks.

This rude style of construction is to be found throughout a considerable portion of the enceinte wall, and probably belongs to an early date, possibly the earliest, in the history of Motya. In several parts of the line of fortification, and particularly on the north of the island, these primitive walls, themselves measuring from two to three metres in thickness, have been still further reinforced by the more modern isodomon walls which have been raised in front of them, with the space between them filled with a concrete of smaller stones and mud.

Type C (fig. 8).—More carefully built walls composed of sandstone, in some cases of fairly large blocks or slabs, in others of smaller pieces, though in either case always uniform, both as regards the size and the quality of the material employed. This is unworked, or only very slightly so, but it is well put together in horizontal courses, the crevices and joints being neatly filled in with small flakes and chippings of stone and earth-binding, the whole presenting an even and regular appearance.

This style of construction seems to have been employed in most of the more important parts of the circumvallation wall, as well as, to a considerable extent, in the bastions, in conjunction with the larger blocks, and even with the well-built isodomon walls, with which it would appear to have been contemporaneous. In some cases well-squared single blocks have been introduced as corner-stones in these walls.

Types D and E (figs. 9 and 10).—Well-built isodomon walls



FIG. 9.—Type of wall D.

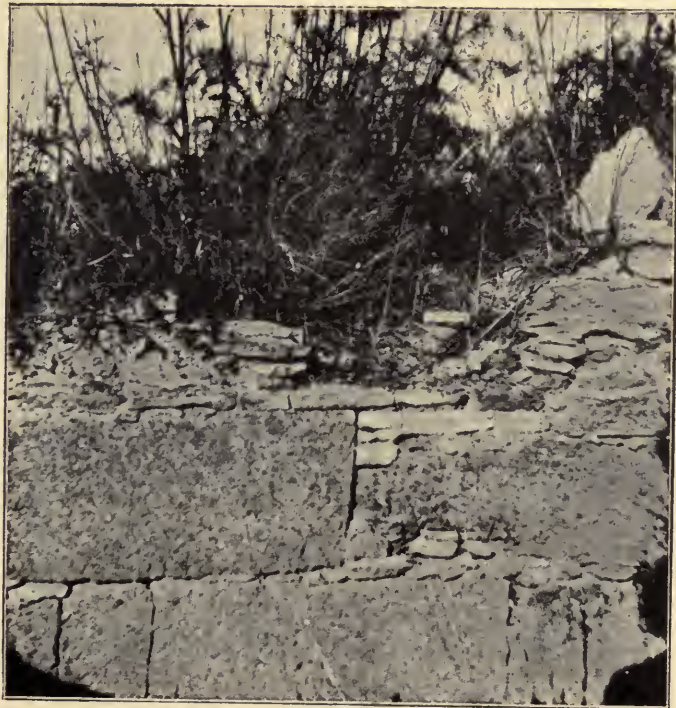


FIG. 10.—Type of wall E.

formed of carefully squared blocks of a fine and hard quality of sandstone. The blocks, as a rule, measure in length from 0·75 m. to 1·50 m., but in some cases as much as 2 m., or even a little more. Their breadth is generally from 0·45 m. to 0·50 m., and their height from 0·40 m. to 0·60 m.

The blocks are placed in courses, without cement or other binding, alternating lengthways and breadthways, or, as it is termed in builders' language, in "headers and stretchers," and present a most even and symmetrical appearance.

The borders or edges of the blocks are, in some cases, carefully bevelled, in others they are unbevelled. The "headers" also, in some cases, have their faces smooth or dressed, while in others they are left in a rough state.

The walls of this class at Motya, which might perhaps be subdivided into two types, were evidently built chiefly with a view of strengthening the older fortifications, as shown by their position immediately in front of them. They are not of great thickness themselves, but, as the space between them and the older walls appears always to have been filled in with stone and other material, consolidated with some sort of binding or concrete, the whole defence will have formed a fairly solid rampart, measuring, as a rule, six metres or so in thickness. The older walls usually measure from two to three metres in width, the new ones about one and a half metre, and the filling in between them from two to two and a half metres.

Most of these well-built outer walls at the present day show no masonry work above the two or three courses of squared blocks which are usually found standing, one only (fig. 11) preserving a portion of its upper structure, which is composed of several courses of smaller undressed or only slightly dressed material, as in the constructions of type C.¹

From this fact it may be concluded that the lower portion only of these walls was formed of solid blocks, the upper construction being composed of the smaller material just mentioned.

¹ This wall might almost be said to show three forms of construction, for its topmost stages are composed of a very rough material similar to that found in type B; but this uppermost material may possibly have been added by the peasants in recent times.



FIG. 11.—Wall showing different types of construction.

In the case, however, of some inner walls of the bastions adjoining the long staircase on the east side of the island, as many as six courses of well-squared blocks are to be seen. It should, however, here be observed that the blocks forming this inner construction are somewhat smaller than those usually met with in the outer walls, and appear to differ slightly in their workmanship. They may be separated as a sub-type E.

Portions of these well-built walls have been brought to light in several parts of the fortifications on the north and north-east side of the island. Immediately adjoining the western tower of the north gateway a line of such wall has been exposed, extending westward for thirty-five metres. Part of it shows three courses above the footing, which is a deep and solid one, but the greater part of this line at the present day shows only two courses. At its highest point, including the footing, it measures 1.70 m. in height. The blocks here are unbevelled, but the facing of the "headers" is dressed, so that the wall presents a perfectly smooth surface.

Further west, and adjoining the necropolis, a smaller portion of wall, measuring ten metres in length, has been laid bare, and this is perhaps the finest example of this type of wall that has, so far, been met with here. It shows three courses of remarkably solid and well-worked blocks, placed above a footing of a single stage, its total height being two metres. One of the blocks here measures as much as 2.07 m. in length. The blocks are all deeply bevelled and the "headers" have rough facings. One of the blocks shows signs of having once been coated with stucco.

In the case of the wall previously referred to as preserving a portion of its upper structure, and which stands a little eastward of the north gateway, the blocks show the same workmanship as in this last-mentioned wall, having bevelled edges and rough-faced "headers."

These well-built isodomon walls are undoubtedly of a later date than those of the types A and B, as shown by their position in relation to the latter, but whether they are also later than those of type C it is difficult to say. The fact of the two forms of construction being found together in the same wall might justify one

in looking upon them as being contemporaneous, though possibly type C may have been in use previous to the introduction of type D.

Be this as it may, there can, as already observed, be little doubt that these well-built walls belong to a late period in Motya's history, and there can be no question as to their showing very superior workmanship, testifying to the high standard of excellence to which the builder's art must, at one time, have attained at Motya. Their construction would indicate Greek influence, if not actual Greek workmanship.

Apart from the influence which Greek art no doubt had in modifying the Phœnician tendency to megalithism and the employment of massive blocks in constructions, another factor which will probably have contributed to the adoption of a style not typically Phœnician in the building of these walls was that of the absence of any local material suitable for the purpose, and the greater difficulty of transporting large blocks from the mainland to the island.

These Motyan walls, Græco-Phœnician as they might be styled, do not differ greatly from Dionysius' great wall at Syracuse. According to Cavallari,¹ the blocks used in the construction of the latter measure 1·40 m. in length, 0·70 m. in width, and 0·60 m. in height. The exterior face, however, of the Syracuse walls is left in its rough state, the borders only of the stones being smoothed, whereas the Motyan walls present an almost perfectly smooth and level surface, the "headers" only, in some cases, being left untrimmed.

In one part only of the ruins of the Motya fortifications that have so far been brought to light is there any wall standing at the present day which may be presumed to approach in height its original altitude. This is the bastion, with the long staircase, on the east coast, of which mention has already been made in this chapter. The greater part of the fortifications have only their lower portions still remaining, and in but few cases do any of them now show more than about three metres of wall standing in position.

¹ F. S. Cavallari, *Topog. Arch. Siracusa*, p. 70.

One can only conjecture as to what the total height of these fortifications must originally have been, although, judging from what is still to be seen of their remains and from the proportions of their embattlements, as well as by analogy with the ruins of other constructions at Motya, one may venture to think that the height of the walls, including the parapet raised above them to protect the defenders, cannot have been less than eight or nine metres, that of the towers perhaps being somewhat more.

Unfortunately, but few remains are to be found at the present day of the walls of other Phœnician cities, to assist us in forming an opinion as to the dimensions of those at Motya, and for most of our information concerning Phœnician fortifications generally we are dependent on what is told us by the ancient writers. Dionysius' wall at Syracuse, of which mention has just been made, and which in some parts was built on steep rock, itself forming a wall, according to Cavallari's computation,¹ must originally have been at least six metres in height, and more in parts where the rock foundation was less precipitous. At Eryx there are still standing portions of walls which show a height of nine metres, and it may, we think, be presumed that those of Motya were not less.

Portions of the lower structure of the old Phœnician walls are still to be seen on the sites of Sidon and Aradus, or Arvad, but more important remains are to be found amongst the ruins of the Phœnician colony of Lixus in Mauritania.²

An important line of ancient walls has also, comparatively recently, been discovered by M. C. Favre³ at Banias, the ancient Balanea, situated about twenty-five miles north of Arvad. These walls appear to be of a very primitive order and must be of a remote period, the material employed in their construction, as well as their workmanship, differing greatly from what is to be found in the walls of Sidon and Aradus.

Of the fortifications of Tyre few or no traces are to be found at the present day, but the walls which withstood the repeated

¹ F. S. Cavallari, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

² Ch. Tissot, *Recherches sur la géographie comparée de la Mauritanie Tingitane*, pp. 203-221.

³ C. Favre, "Banias (Balanée) et son enceinte cyclopéenne," *Revue Archéologique*, 2^e série, xxxvii. 223-232.

onslaughts of the great Alexander for a period of no less than seven months cannot have been otherwise than exceptionally strong. No city, perhaps, as M. Renan rightly observes,¹ that has for centuries played so important a rôle in the world's history has left such slight traces behind it.

According to Arrian,² the enceinte wall of Tyre was one hundred and fifty feet high, and proportionately thick; but whether it was formed entirely of worked stone, or, as not unusual in Phœnician fortifications, was in part composed of natural or live rock, is not stated. Rock-cut walls, or walls hewn out of the living rock, apparently formed the basis of the fortifications both at Sidon and Aradus, and entire walls were sometimes cut out of the natural rock, as well as even houses.³

Compared with the defences of some other ancient cities, the fortifications of Motya may perhaps seem insignificant; but the citizens of that sea-girt town, relying on the security which they fancied their insular position assured them, probably never anticipated the possibility of battering-rams and other siege appliances being brought against their walls, whilst as regards all other forms of attack they no doubt felt secure and equal to holding out successfully.

For their error, unfortunately a fatal one, they had no excuse, having, as they had, their own mole constantly before their eyes, to remind them that they had lost an island's immunity from attacks by land. Tyre, at least, had no road connecting it with the opposite mainland until Alexander built his, and was thus enabled to achieve his aim.

In conclusion, and as already stated at the commencement of this chapter, it may be gathered that the fortifications of Motya, taken as a whole, and notwithstanding their necessarily restricted development, must have been of considerable strength and capable of withstanding any ordinary attack that might have been made

¹ Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 529.

² Arrian, *Anabasis*, xxi. 3.

³ According to Renan (*op. cit.*, p. 92), one of the most interesting features of the Amrit remains is a monolithic house, with inner chambers, cut out of a single mass of rock. The house measures about 100 feet square, and its walls are about 20 feet high and 32 inches thick.

on them by an enemy in the day when that city flourished. This, indeed, may be said to have been demonstrated by the prolonged resistance offered by the besieged city to the overwhelming forces of the Tyrant Dionysius, provided with the latest appliances of war, when, after several weeks, if not months, of daily though fruitless onslaughts, recourse to stratagem, by night attack, had finally to be made as the only means of taking the town.

An idea of the severe test to which the defences of Motya must have been subjected may be formed from the account given by Diodorus of the great siege, while evidence of the fierce attack made by the assailants is to be found in more than one part of the line of ruined fortifications now visible on the island. Traces of such attack are specially noticeable at a spot towards the western extremity of the necropolis, where the enceinte wall shows what would seem to be a breach in it, measuring about three metres in width, and where the surface of the ground, when first exposed, was found strewn with innumerable darts and arrow-heads, an unmistakable sign of the strife having raged furiously here. This may have been the very breach spoken of by Diodorus,¹ as having been effected by the storming party with its rams, for in this particular locality the foreshore is formed by a remarkably flat plateau of natural rock, extending for a considerable way along the shore, at just about the normal water-level, which would have lent itself admirably for the employment of such war engines. So flat and level is this plateau that it gives the impression of having been artificially prepared for that very purpose, though, on examination, there is nothing to show that it is otherwise than natural.

THE EASTERN STAIRCASE AND ADJOINING FORTIFICATIONS (Fig. 12, Plan A)

On the east coast of the island, and within a short distance of the north gateway, are the remains of some important fortifications, with a fine and remarkably well-preserved staircase of sandstone, composed of a double flight of steps, leading from the upper part of the walls down to the sea-shore, the lowest step being just

¹ Diod., xiv. 51.

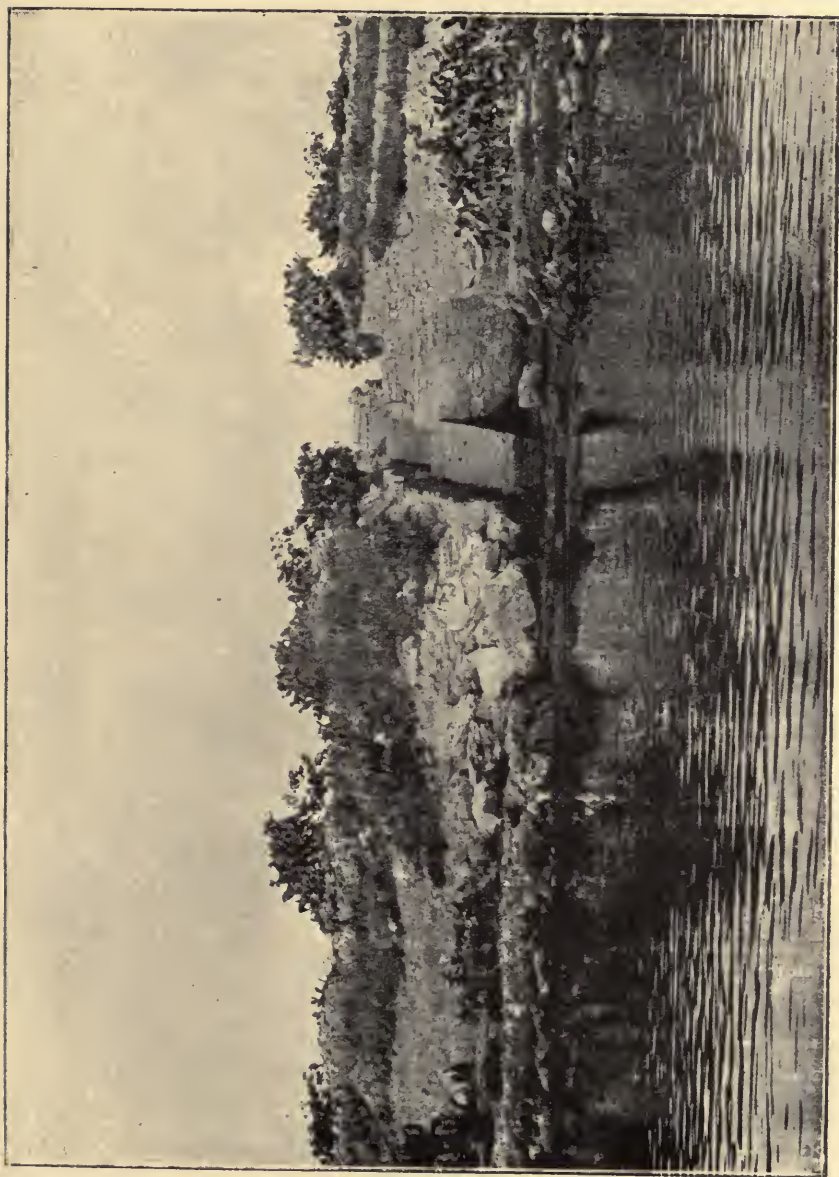
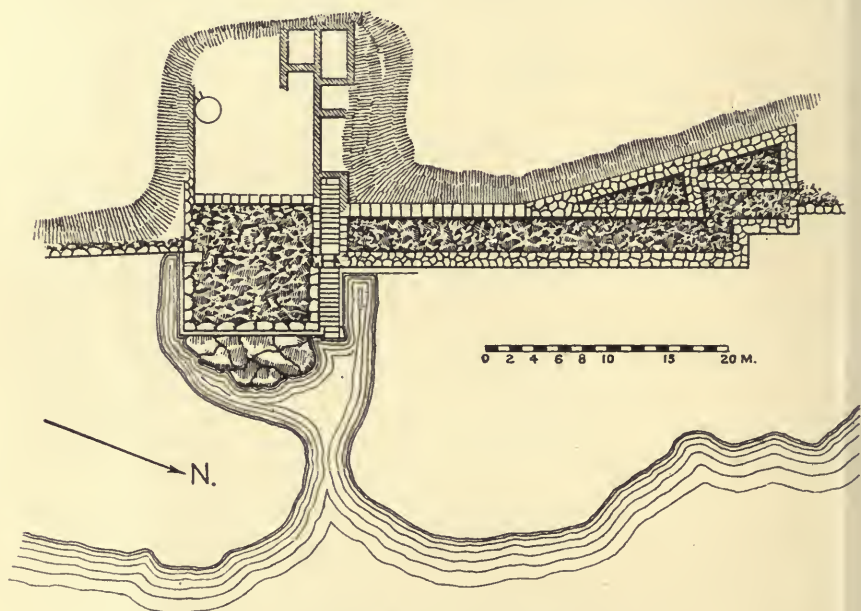


FIG. 12.—Eastern Staircase.

below the level of the water when it is at what may be called high tide. As mentioned in an earlier chapter,¹ the depth of water here must have been much greater in the days of Motya than it is now, and boats must have been able to come right up to the steps without the slightest difficulty.

It is not clear whether the stairway served for public access to and from the town, or whether it was merely for the private use of the garrison. The latter, however, seems the more probable,



PLAN A.—The Eastern Staircase and fortifications.

as there are no indications of any street or road leading into the town in this particular spot, while the ruins of what would appear to have been dwellings, possibly guard-houses, are to be found immediately at the back of the upper part of the staircase, which extends through and to the inner side of the line of fortification walls. It may be observed, however, that the level of the floor of these buildings within the fortification lines is considerably lower than the upper part of the staircase, even in its present condition, and, should the buildings have been guard-houses connected with

¹ *Vide ante*, Part I., Chapter IV.

even the bastion, there must have been steps, on the inner side, leading down to them.

About half way down these stairs, that is to say, between the upper and lower flight, there must have been a gate or door closing the approach when required, indications of this being plainly visible. The steps of the entire stairway, at the present day, are twenty-eight in number, say fifteen in the lower, and thirteen in the upper flight, but those of the latter must undoubtedly have been more in number when the staircase was intact. The present height of the stairs above the sea-level is 5.90 m., and supposing the steps of the upper flight to have been fifteen in number, as in the lower flight, the total height of the stairs would have been a little over six metres above the level of the sea, and that of the fortification walls, with their parapet, some two or three metres more.

The width of the two flights of steps varies slightly, that of the upper being 1.50 m., and that of the lower 1.68 m. The steps themselves all measure about 0.20 m. in height. The lowest step of all, forming the base, is, however, 0.39 m. in height.

On the south side of, and attached to, the stairs are the remains of an advanced tower or bastion, projecting as far as the base of the steps, and presenting a frontage towards the east of ten metres in width, its southern flank being six metres wide. At the back, where it meets the curtain of the enceinte, this tower, at the present day, shows a height of 3.60 m.

At the foot of the tower may be seen many large and irregularly shaped masses of rock, similar to those found in the towers of the north gateway. These large pieces of rock were no doubt thrown down from the top of the tower on the dismantling of the fortifications.

The construction of this tower appears to have been a fairly substantial one, its angles being protected by well-squared blocks of hard sandstone, and its foundations being solidly built of the same material; but the greater part of the lower portion of the structure, which is intact, is composed of small and undressed material, though well put together and the joints carefully filled in with small pieces of stone and earth-binding.

The upper portion of the tower must have been formed by the large blocks and masses of natural rock already spoken of as lying at the foot of the building. Some of these blocks measure nearly 2 m. in length, 1.50 m. in width, and 0.60 m. in depth.

In this form of construction this tower differs from those of



FIG. 13.—Postern Gate.

the north gateway, in which the lower portion is composed of large-sized material.

On the north side of the staircase, though not projecting seaward beyond the line of the upper flight of steps, or the middle of the staircase, is a long bastion extending northwards for a distance of thirty-two metres, at which point it turns inwards at a right angle and then meets the enceinte wall. The width of this bastion is about five metres, and it is built chiefly of medium-sized blocks

roughly put together, with smaller material in the inner part, the frontage presenting a fairly even appearance.

On the inner side, or at the back of these advanced works, both north and south of the staircase, is to be found a well-built wall of dressed and perfectly smooth sandstone blocks, showing no less than six courses, above which the wall is composed of smaller pieces of stone and earth-binding. The exploration of this locality has not yet been completed, and, for the present, one cannot say more regarding it, except it be that, as in other parts of the defence line, here also one has evidence of the older walls having been strengthened.

Proceeding further north, and shortly before reaching the neighbourhood of the north gateway, are to be found the remains of other well-built walls of squared stone, and at a certain point, adjoining an advanced tower, may be seen a small doorway or postern (fig. 13), which possibly formed a communication with the inner part of the fortification by a subterranean passage or corridor. Further excavation in this spot is, however, necessary to determine this point, as the doorway at present is barricaded with stone. The postern measures 2.30 m. in height, 0.95 m. at its widest part at the base, and 0.55 m. at the upper part, whence it tapers off to 0.30 m. at the top. As may be seen, this postern differs from those found at Eryx in its upper construction.

THE SOUTH-EASTERN STAIRCASE AND ADJOINING FORTIFICATIONS (Fig. 14, Plan B)

Another staircase leading down to the sea-shore, though one of smaller proportions than that just spoken of, is to be found on the south-east coast of the island, with the remains of fortifications and other buildings adjoining it.

Flanking what would appear to have been a guard-house on the north and at the foot of the staircase are the ruins of what must once have been a strongly built tower, while on the south of the stairway is another small building which would seem to have been attached to the enceinte wall.

The staircase, so far as can be seen at present, was composed

of but a single flight of steps, these being eleven in number and measuring 1·45 m. in width. At the top of the stairs is to be found a cement pavement, which possibly formed the floor of a room, or, more probably, of an open courtyard, for on one side of it is to be found a small gutter for carrying off water.

The buildings here, as in the case of those adjoining the eastern staircase, probably served solely for the use of the garrison. The size of the rooms is small, their measurements not exceeding five by three metres in any single case, while the walls are formed by large, upright sandstone blocks, placed at intervals of about one metre apart from each other, the intervening spaces being filled in with smaller stone and rubble, bound together with earth-mud. The jambs of the doorways are also formed by these large monolithic blocks, which, in most cases, measure about 1·50 m. in height, 0·50 m. in width, and 0·50 m. in depth. This seems to have been a characteristic form of construction in Motyan buildings not belonging to the most recent period of the town. It is probably typically Phœnician, dating from the earlier days of Motya, when Greek influence had not yet penetrated there.

The floor on the south of the foot of the staircase is formed by a rather handsome though rough mosaic concrete pavement, composed chiefly of small pieces of white and reddish stone.

Lying at the foot of the house walls here are to be found numerous fragments of a thick and dark-coloured rough concrete, which had evidently fallen from above, either from the floors of the upper storeys or from the roofs of the buildings.

This concrete, in some parts, shows a very clear impression of the leaves of the dwarf palm (*Chamærops humilis*), as well as of split canes and rushes, which materials were no doubt used in the thatching and in the flooring of buildings.

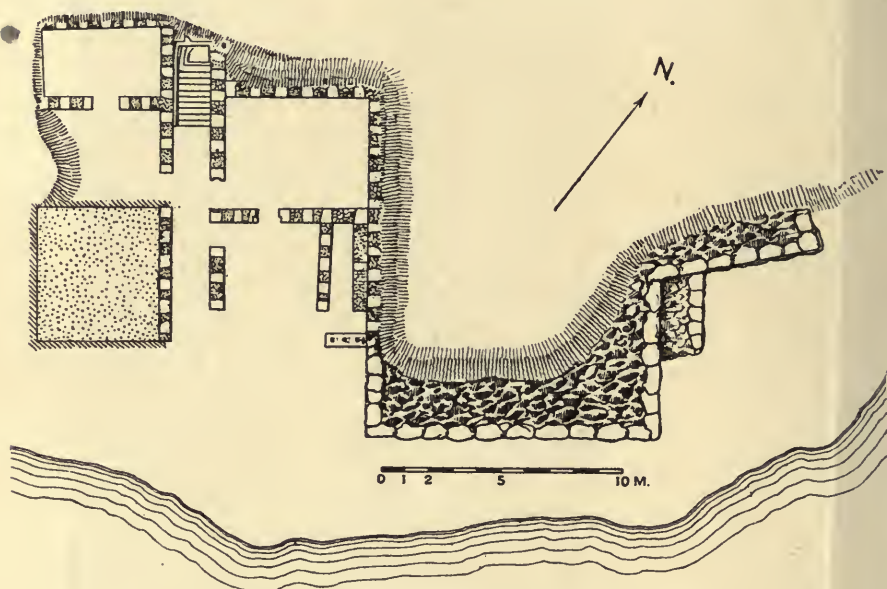
Concrete flooring appears to have been particularly abundant at Motya, owing, no doubt, to the difficulty of procuring wood.

The wonderful state of preservation in which these two staircases are at the present day, or rather, in which they were when first discovered, might lead one to suppose that they had only just been constructed before the fall of Motya. When freshly



FIG. 14.—The South-Eastern Staircase.

unearthed and first exposed to view they looked absolutely new, with steps that seemed never to have been previously trodden on. This cannot have been due to the quality of the stone, for it is an ordinary sandstone which already, even now, although it is comparatively but a very short time since the stairs were discovered, begins to show the effects of exposure to the air most markedly.



PLAN B.—The South-Eastern Staircase and fortifications.

CHAPTER IV

THE GATEWAYS OF MOTYA

THE NORTHERN GATEWAY (Fig. 15)

THIS gateway is situated on the north coast of the island, facing the mainland district known at the present day by the name of Birgi, with the Aigithallos standing out seaward on the west, and Eryx, the modern Monte San Giuliano, rising up boldly in the far distance to the northward.

The discovery of the gateway belongs to some period in the past, though to what precise date one cannot say, as there seems to be no record of the discovery itself, the earliest mention of the gateway, or rather of its advanced towers and defence walls, being apparently, as already mentioned, that contained in Houel's work on Sicily.¹

From what this writer says in the brief description he gives of these ruins, and so far as we know, it would appear that until recently the advanced towers only, together with a portion of the adjoining enceinte walls, had been brought into evidence, the actual gateway itself, which is situated further back, not having then been discovered, nor does any attempt seem to have been made in later years to follow up the discovery of the towers and walls by penetrating further inland behind those advanced works.

Be this as it may, there can be no doubt that this approach to the town, particularly now that it and its environment have been further explored and brought into full evidence, forms, in its *ensemble*, one of the most striking and interesting features of the Motyan excavations.

¹ *Vide ante*, Part II., Chapter I.

It must undoubtedly have been one of the principal gateways of Motya, probably its chief and most important one, connecting, as it did, the island with the mainland by means of a mole or causeway extending across the expanse of shallow water which separates the two shores.

A description of this causeway has already been given, when speaking of excavations recently carried out at Motya.¹ That the gateway and the road leading to the mainland were intimately connected with each other is unquestionable, but whether the two were contemporaneous in their origin is not so clear. It may indeed be that the former existed at an earlier date than the latter, or at a time which may be called the first period of Motya, when the early necropolis on the island itself was in use, and that it was only later on, when this cemetery was abandoned for the Birgi necropolis on the mainland, that it was considered advisable or necessary to construct the road. This is, however, mere conjecture, and it may equally be that gateway and road both date from the same period, particularly if the Motyans, from an early date, had dealings with the inhabitants of the mainland and were in the habit of carrying on constant intercourse with them.

As shown in the accompanying plan (C, p. 166), the two advanced towers, which flank and protect the approach to the gateway, stand at a distance of about fifteen metres from the sea-shore, and are of a trapezoidal form, their walls being perpendicular and their foundations rising but slightly above the level of the sea, the lower stages of the foundations, in fact, being actually below it.

The two towers, the aspect of which is almost due N.N.E., stand 8.50 m. apart from each other at their outer front, converging to 7.60 m. on the inner side. The measurements of the eastern tower are as follows: north front, 10.68 m.; east front, 10 m.; west front, 6 m. Those of the western tower are: north front, 9.75 m.; east front, 5.25 m.; west front, 4 m. The east front of the latter, however, when intact, apparently extended somewhat further back, or to a point parallel with the outer line of the gateway.

The eastern tower stands isolated at the present day, as the

¹ *Vide ante*, Part II., Chapter II.

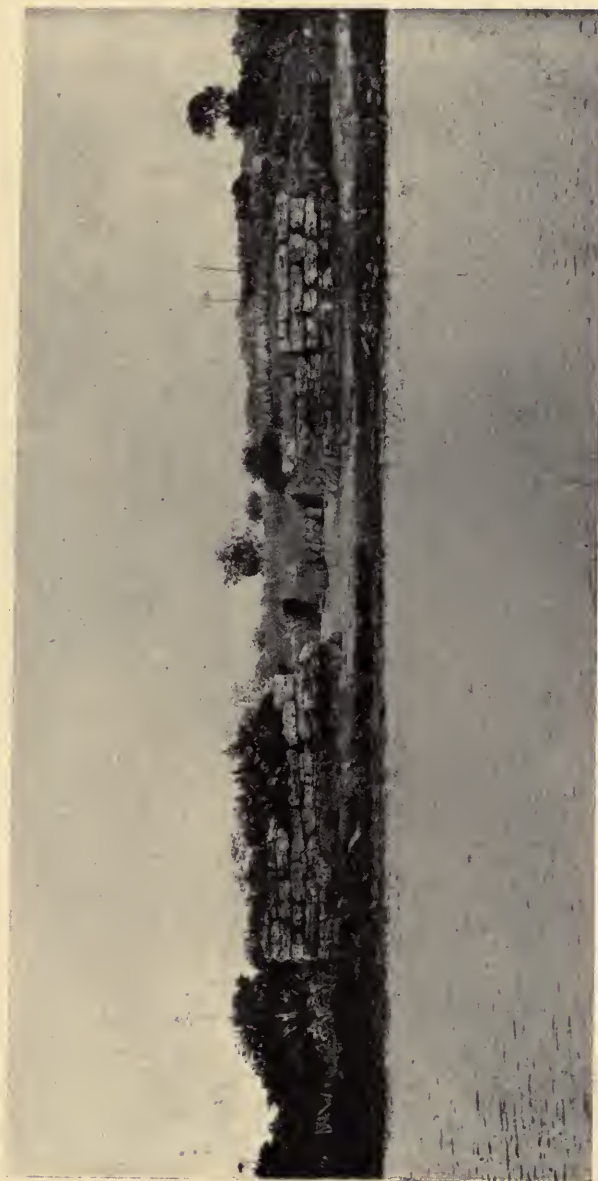
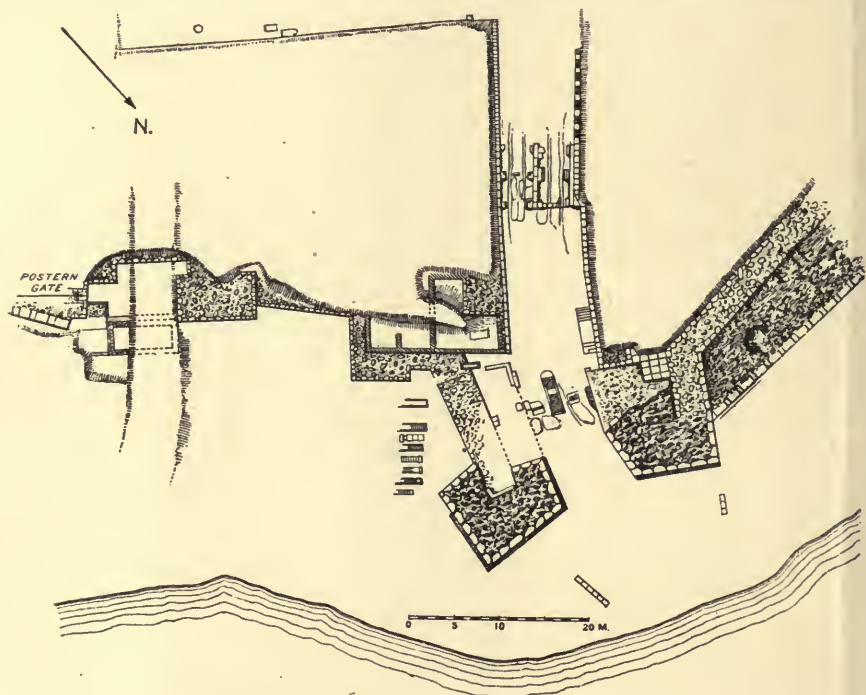


FIG. 15.—The Northern Gateway.

curtain of the circumvallation wall with which it must originally have been joined is now no longer in existence, though the remains of its foundations, which have been discovered, indicate its position.¹

The western tower, however, is still connected with the enceinte wall, at a point four metres behind its outermost angle. It here meets one of the more recently constructed isodomon walls, and behind this one of the older walls, the space between these two



PLAN C.—Northern Gateway and fortifications.

walls being filled in with small stone and other material forming a fairly solid concrete.

The fact of this tower extending backwards behind the newer

¹ According to a drawing of this gateway, or rather of its advanced towers, given in Houel's work on Sicily (*op. cit.*, plate ix.), and reproduced here (fig. 16), the east tower meets the curtain of the enceinte wall, which, at the present day, is wanting in this part; but whether this curtain wall was still in existence towards the end of the eighteenth century, or whether Houel took the proverbial artist's licence and introduced it of his own accord, one cannot say. The tower walls, however, in any case, are incorrectly shown in Houel's drawing, for they are represented as sloping inwards instead of being perfectly perpendicular, as they really are.



FIG. 16.—The Northern Gateway, from Houel.

wall and meeting and forming an angle with the older construction is of no little interest, showing, as it apparently does, that the towers are contemporaneous in age with the older walls, and are not of a more recent date, as might perhaps have been supposed.

The towers, which are built on a solid basis or foundation formed by double courses of limestone, are composed chiefly of large masses of natural rock of the same material, very slightly smoothed in some parts of their outer face, so as to present a more even surface, though this dressing is so slight as to be hardly perceptible now that the stone is worn with age and exposure. In size the blocks vary a good deal, some of them, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, measuring as much as three metres in length by one metre in width and nearly the same in depth, while others are much smaller. They are placed in courses, one above the other, without cement, though a rough binding of earth-mud may still be seen, together with small stones, filling in the joints and interstices of the courses. The latter are laid very regularly, considering the almost natural state of the unwieldy blocks employed.

The eastern tower, at the present day, shows five courses still remaining in position, the western tower only four; and neither tower, at its highest part, shows an elevation of more than four metres, including the foundations.

To judge from the very few large blocks which have been found lying at the foot of these towers, it may be concluded that their upper structure was formed of smaller material, which, unlike the large and unwieldy masses employed in the construction of the lower parts, will easily have been thrown down on the dismantling of the fortifications, and, in course of time, have disappeared, carried off probably for building purposes elsewhere.

The inner part of the towers appears to have been formed of smaller blocks and rubble, though that on the east has some well-squared blocks in the middle which might induce one to think that a small staircase may have originally existed there, leading to the top of the tower.

In the immediate vicinity of these towers a large number of lance and arrow-heads have been found, unmistakable evidence of the fierce fighting that must have been waged in this spot. The

fortification here would seem to have been built on ancient military lines, or on the Scea principle, by which the defenders had the advantage of being able to assail the attacking enemy on his exposed right flank.¹

One now comes to the actual gateways forming the entrance to the town and to the street beyond it leading inland, both of which, judging from what has so far been brought to light, not only form interesting features of the Motyan remains, but give us a good idea as to the architecture and general plan of a Phœnician town, or, as perhaps one should say, of a Phœnician town into which Greek art and influence had probably penetrated from an early date.

Passing inland, between the advanced towers, and almost immediately behind them, or in a line with the older fortification wall on the west side, one comes to the remains of what was evidently once a double gateway, formed by two separate apertures and passages running parallel with each other and divided by a central wall and piers. This central partition wall, with its pier at each end, the Greek μέτωπον, is built of squared sandstone blocks, and measures 3·70 m. in length, with a frontage, on its outer face, of 1·20 m., and a height, at the present day, of about 2 m.

Its upper structure was presumably surmounted by some piece of sculpture or ornamental work; indeed, a block of worked sandstone, with a moulding on two sides, which was found lying near the foot of this wall, may perhaps have once formed part of such ornamentation. Other pieces of worked stone, apparently fragments of cornices, which have been found in this spot, may also have belonged to the superstructure of the gateway. The central partition wall has an opening in the middle, like a window, which possibly served for communication between the two passages.

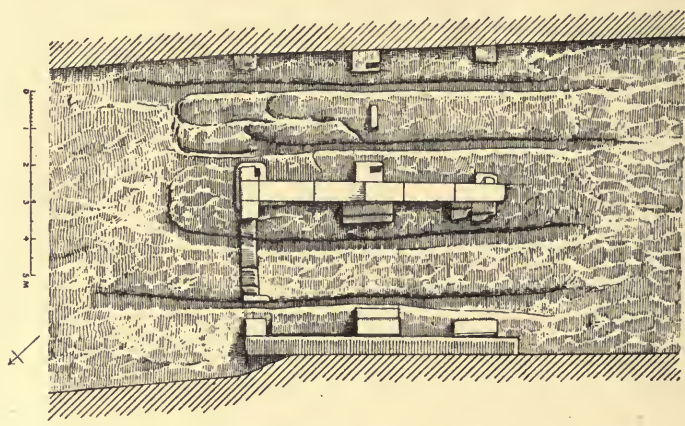
The outer walls on both sides of the gateways have disappeared, but from what remains of their foundations, as well as from the position of the gate-sockets and two large and rough curb-stones or gate-stops which are still to be seen at the front entrance of the passages, the width of the two apertures can be determined, that of the eastern passage being 2·67 m., and that of the western 2·37 m.

¹ Cf. Vitruvius, i. 5. 2.

Possibly these passages had gates at both ends, though gate-sockets and stops have been found only at the entrances on the front. Large slabs of natural limestone rock form the pavement of the passages.

The gates themselves were probably composed of wood, and a large quantity of the charred remains of woodwork was found in this spot, as also numerous large nails and other fragments of metal-work which no doubt formed part of the gates and their fastenings.

The aspect of the gateways is due N.N.E., or slightly different



PLAN D.—(Detail) Inner gateways, North Entrance.

from that of the towers, which face a little more towards the north than do the gateways.

Proceeding still further inland, along a rough cobble-paved roadway measuring 7·80 m. in width, and flanked on each side by the remains of well-built sandstone walls, formed of the usual upright blocks and intermediate small-stone filling, at a distance of twenty-two metres behind the outer gateway one comes to a second double gateway, or rather, it should be said, to a series of double gateways, for there would appear to have been three pairs of them, one placed behind the other, at intervals of about two metres apart (Plan D).

As in the case of the outer gateways, already described, here also a central partition wall divides these gateways, or succession

of gateways, though but little more than the foundations and basements now remain of the construction. These, however, show that the length of this central wall was seven metres, and the distance between it and the exterior walls on either side three metres in the case of the eastern passage and slightly less in that of the western.

The foundations of the walls here are well preserved, as are also most of the gate-sockets and stops. In one of the sockets was found a square piece of bronze, slightly concave, on which one of the gates must have rested and revolved. This is the only such metal piece met with in any of the sockets here, so far, although no doubt all were originally provided therewith. The one found measures ten centimetres square and two and three-quarter centimetres in thickness.

The eastern passage, or roadway, between the series of gateways is paved with large rough flagstones or slabs of natural limestone rock, this pavement extending inland for some way on this side, though the size of the paving-stones diminishes gradually the further one proceeds, until finally it is substituted by cobbles, and eventually ends in a plain beaten-earth road.

The passage on the western side, at the present day, shows no paving flagstones whatever, but merely beaten earth. Whether it was once paved with stone, like the eastern roadway, has not, so far, been ascertained. Possibly the passage on the east side may have served for wheeled vehicles, that on the west being reserved for pedestrians only.

Deep ruts, undoubtedly wheel-tracks, are to be found in the road pavement, particularly in that portion lying actually between the gateways on the east side, which would tend to show that a considerable amount of wheel traffic must have existed at Motya, and between it and the mainland. The ruts can hardly have been made purposely with the object of carrying off rain-water, although it may be observed that the beaten-earth roadway of the western passage through the gateway also shows deep furrows on either side, which may have been caused by water running down the rather steep incline which the street has in this part.

The walls flanking the street, of which mention has already

been made, do not apparently start from exactly corresponding points on both sides. That on the east commences at a point situated about six metres behind the line of the outer gateways, while that on the west side starts almost from the gateways themselves. The space intervening between the former and the eastern advanced tower, judging from the remains of buildings found there, was probably occupied by guard-houses attached to the enceinte wall lying immediately behind. On the west side and not far from the outer gateways a small staircase, with steps 1.32 m. wide, is to be found adjoining the wall. This apparently served for access to the upper part of the fortifications.

Neither of the walls flanking the street shows signs of any doorway or aperture, and from this fact it can only be concluded, either that these walls formed an integral part of the fortifications, continued along the sides of the streets, or, as seems more probable, that they were the walls of storehouses or other public buildings, with approaches only on their inner sides. They certainly do not appear to have been dwelling-houses, though they are, in part, particularly on the west side, formed by the large upright blocks with smaller material between them, the style of construction observed in other buildings at Motya, which were apparently habitations.

At their highest part, which is that nearest the outer gateways, these walls, at the present day, show an elevation of about three metres, but this becomes gradually less the further the walls recede inland, the street having an upward trend.

The wall on the east side of the street extends inland in an almost straight line for a distance of thirty-seven metres, when it turns off at a right angle in an easterly direction. That on the west of the street also extends inland in a fairly straight line, though with a slight inclination westward; but it continues much further inland than the eastern wall, and almost to a spot known by the name of Cappiddazzu, where the ruins are to be found of what would seem to have been buildings of considerable importance, regarding which fuller particulars will be found in Chapter VI. These ruins, however, have not yet been sufficiently explored to enable one to say much regarding them, or more perhaps than that

the material and construction of the buildings would lead one to suppose that they date from a late period of Motya's history.

Extending eastward and southward of the point where the east wall of the street turns off at a right angle, there would seem to have been an open space, possibly an *agora* or market-place, without buildings on it; but the area of this has not yet been determined, nor has more than a superficial exploration so far been carried out here.



FIG. 17.—Amphoræ laid out to dry near kiln.

Along the northern side of this apparently open space there would seem to have been buildings of an inferior class, possibly workshops; and in one part a rude kiln for baking pottery has been met with, together with the remains of numerous cylindrical amphoræ of an ordinary quality of earthenware, some in a finished state and others in the course of being fashioned. Fig. 17 shows a row of such amphoræ laid out to dry. That pottery of a rough description was manufactured at Motya is thus clearly proved, and it may be that terracotta of a finer class was also made here, though so far there is no actual proof of this. The kiln that has been found, as above, is formed by a circular hole or well, sunk

into the ground to a depth of about a metre and a half. It is roughly lined with stone and has a small triangular aperture at its base, evidently intended for the introduction of fuel for the furnace. The mouth of the hole is about 2.40 m. in circumference, and, when first disinterred, was covered with a rough stone slab.

That this northern entrance to the town dates from an early period in the history of Motya seems highly probable. It may not, perhaps, have been the earliest, for Motya was then probably but an open town; but, on the colony growing in size and importance, one of the first steps of its inhabitants will undoubtedly have been to raise defence walls around the island, with gateways in such spots as were considered advisable. One of these gateways will presumably have been on the north coast, where the present entrance is situated, and from which point it is possible that the enterprising islanders may have already contemplated making a road across the shallow waters of the bay to the opposite mainland. However this may be, there is every reason to believe that this northern entrance will have been one of the first to be made at Motya, and to justify us in looking upon it as of an early date.

Whether the remains of the gateways that have been discovered are those of the original structures is, however, not so certain, and, indeed, it is more probable that they belong, in part if not entirely, to a less early date, the original gateways having probably been modified and renovated at some later period or periods.

Although but little comparatively remains of the actual gateways to guide us in forming an opinion, that little appears sufficient to justify this conclusion.

Taking the outer gateway first, all that now remains of the structure is the lower portion of the central partition wall and piers between the two passages, together with the pavement showing the gate-sockets and stops. The latter may possibly have belonged to the original gateways, but the central wall, to judge from its construction, as well, perhaps, as from the material of which it is built, would seem to be of more recent date.

In the case of the inner gateways, in addition to the founda-

tions and lower portion of the central partition wall, we have the outer walls on each side of the roadway, and all these constructions would give one the impression of their having been built at a period not very remote in the history of Motya. The pavement or flooring of the street, in places formed of natural rock-slabs, in others of rude cobble-stones, and elsewhere simply of beaten earth, may, on the other hand, date, either entirely or in part, from the original opening of the entrance.

Taken as a whole, and compared with the rather imposing appearance of the fortifications and other constructions which adjoin them, these gateways strike one as being somewhat meagre and out of proportion to the rest of their surroundings, especially considering that this was probably the chief and most important entrance to the town; but one must remember that, in the early days when Motya flourished, the gateways of fortified cities were, as a rule, for precautionary measures, limited in their proportions. Those of Greek towns in Sicily appear generally to have been of small size.

As observed by Professor Pace, in his interesting notes on Motya, recently published,¹ the outer gateway of Motya's north entrance recalls to one's mind the Athenian *Dipylon*, although it is not absolutely similar, for in the case of the Athenian gateway the central wall does not extend; as a partition, from the outer to the inner gateway, thus forming two separate passages, as at Motya, but leaves an open space or chamber between the two.² The inner series of gateways, though perhaps not quite the same, may give an idea of what the Epipolæ *Hexapylon* at Syracuse must have been. It is hardly likely that the latter can have been formed by six apertures placed side by side, which, as Professor Pace very truly remarks, would have offered a manifestly weak spot in the defences; nor, on the other hand, can one imagine there having been six gates, one behind the other; and it seems far more probable that the Epipolæ gateway resembled our Motyan one in the disposition of its apertures.

¹ Professor B. Pace, "Prime Note sugli scavi di Mozia," *estratto R. Acad. dei Lincei*, Roma, 1916, p. 434.

² Cf. Middleton, *Plans and Drawings of Athenian Buildings*, S.P.H.S. Supplementary Papers, No. 3, 1900.

Before concluding, mention must be made of some sarcophagi which were discovered in the neighbourhood of the north gateway (fig. 18). Seven of these sarcophagi were found together, lying side by side, with an eighth not far off, outside the walls and immediately at the back of the eastern advanced tower, which here forms an angle before meeting the curtain of the enceinte wall. Four other sarcophagi were found close by, but within the line



FIG. 18.—Sarcophagi at North Gateway.

of fortifications and among the debris of the ruined buildings which were probably once guard-houses, near the gate, while fragments of other sarcophagi and two amphoræ, containing cremated remains, were also found near this spot.

These tombs, which lie at a somewhat higher level than that of the street leading into the town, and the gate foundations, may perhaps belong to the period immediately succeeding the fall of Motya, when the city was in ruins and the island was, for a short time, occupied by Biton and his garrison, or they may possibly

have served for the hurried burial of some of those who perished in the final struggle towards the end of the siege. The fact of several skeletons having been found together in a single tomb would lead one to hazard this suggestion, but it is of course difficult, not to say impossible, to speak with certainty as to this. Further mention will be made of these sarcophagi in Chapter VII., when treating of those found in the early Motyan necropolis.

Meanwhile it may be observed that, although considerable exploration has already been made in the neighbourhood of the north gateway and entrance to the town, and some valuable and interesting information has already been gained, much still remains to be done in this spot, and more than one problem awaits solution which can only be obtained by further and careful investigation.

THE SOUTHERN GATEWAY (Fig. 19)

The southern gateway of Motya, like that on the north of the island, stands close to the sea-shore, and is but slightly raised above the level of the water. It faces almost due south, or, to be quite correct, south-south-west, looking towards the town of Marsala, the site of ancient Lilybæum, and commanding a good view of the opposite mainland coast, as well as of the entire southern portion of the "Stagnone," with its outlet to the open sea, the only sea approach in ancient times to the land-locked bay. It was, indeed, what might have been called the sea-gate of Motya, as the north gate might have been styled the land-gate.

Although forming one of the principal gateways of the town, and possibly, owing to its proximity to the Cothon and maritime centre, being of some consequence, this gateway can hardly have been as important as the north gateway, of which we have just spoken, with its traffic along the causeway leading to the mainland.

From the fact of the southern roadway being unpaved, and from the absence of any signs of a road having existed outside the fortification walls to which it might have led, one must conclude that this gateway, apart from considerations of town embellishment, can only have served for the use of fishermen and others wishing

to reach the sea-shore, particularly supposing the Cothon channel and quays to have been given over entirely to goods traffic.

Though there are no traces, at the present day, of any jetty or landing-place having existed immediately in front of the gateway, small boats may nevertheless have been able to approach within a short distance of it, and probably did so.

The south gateway would seem to be of a different type and construction from the north gateway, while its protecting towers or bastions also differ entirely from those guarding the northern approach. Judging from this difference, as well as from the workmanship and material employed in its construction, there is reason to think that this southern gateway may have been built at a somewhat later period than that at the north end of the island, although possibly both gateways may have undergone modifications at the same time, when a general revision of the Motyan defences may have been carried out.

The well-worked sandstone blocks of which the south gateway is built are similar to those found in the apparently more recent constructions at the north gateway, and to portions of the fortifications elsewhere, which have evidently been strengthened at a date subsequent to their original erection; while the comparatively small size of these blocks also points to a later construction, when Greek art and influence had thoroughly penetrated into the Phœnician colony.

At first sight this southern entrance would appear to have been formed by a single aperture, measuring about five metres in width; but more careful examination leads one to think that it may perhaps have resembled the northern entrance in being formed by two small apertures, separated by a pier in the middle, or that it may possibly, though originally formed by a single wide aperture, have subsequently been reduced to more modest proportions.

The gateway is flanked by walls running parallel with its front for a distance of about thirteen metres on the west side and seven metres on the east, from which advanced turrets project some four metres beyond the walls, the two turrets having a frontage of twelve and ten metres respectively. These turrets or bastions differ from those at the north gate in being composed chiefly of

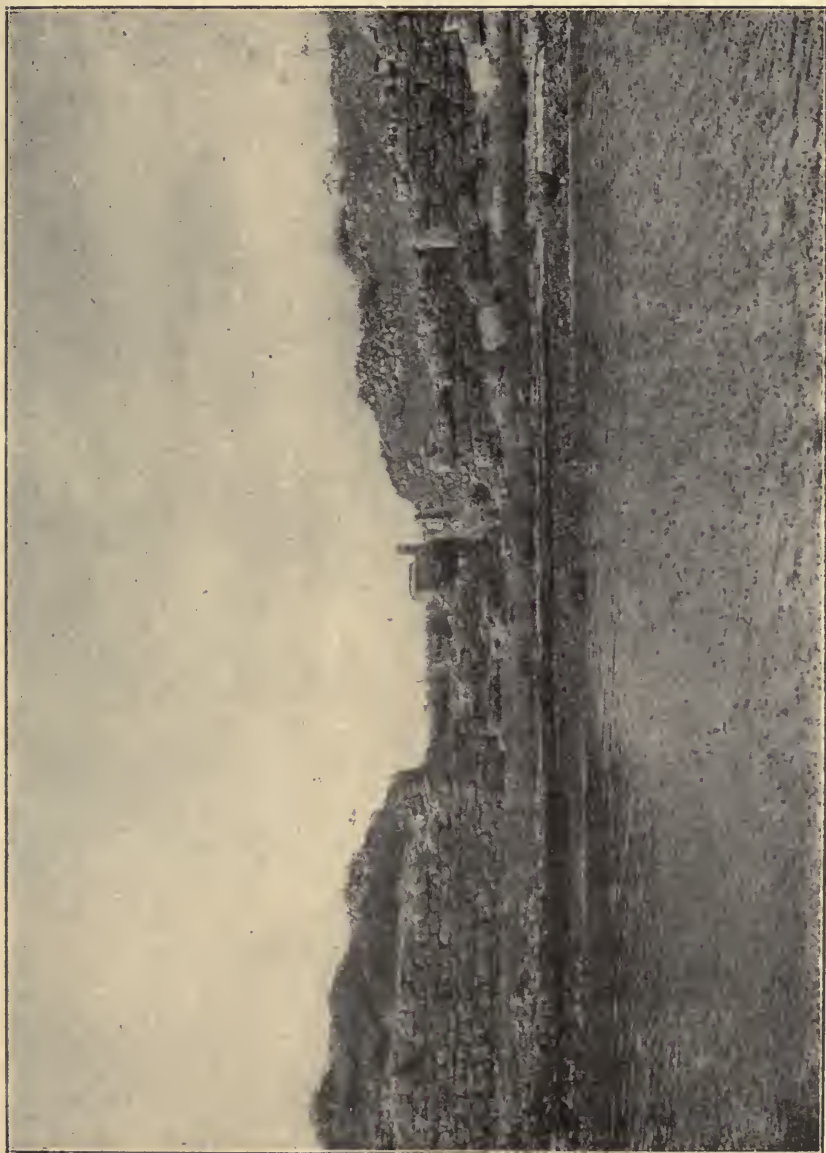


Fig. 19.—The Southern Gateway.

relatively small blocks of stone, very unlike the huge masses of natural rock forming the advanced towers of the latter. Like other fortifications at Motya, they resemble those in having no true cement binding, the crevices and joints being filled in with the usual small pieces of stone and earth-mud, while the horizontal line of the courses, as is customary in most Phœnician constructions, has been carefully observed in the laying of the material. The walls of both the gateway and the adjoining fortifications present a most regular and even-faced surface.

For the present it is difficult to tell what the superstructure of this gateway must have been—whether it was formed by a lintel or lintels spanning the aperture or apertures, or whether the gateway was open at the top and unspanned by any masonry or other work. The fact of no block or blocks having, so far, been met with anywhere in the neighbourhood which might have formed a lintel or lintels suitable for the purpose, might lead one to suppose the latter to have been the case, particularly also as a large piece of cornice has been found at the foot of the gateway, which might well have served as a fitting ornamentation either to a central pier or to one of the sides of the aperture, if open at the top. Further excavation may, however, enable us to solve the problem.

Of the actual gateway little more than the foundations and base remain at the present day, its side walls extending inwards for a distance of about four metres, this measurement appearing to be also the width of the adjoining bastion walls. The height of these is now not more than two or three metres in any part, and it is difficult, not to say impossible, to tell what the total height of the gateway and its fortifications may have been originally, although a certain indication of its having been not inconsiderable seems to be afforded by the remains of some large worked blocks, which evidently formed part of a cornice, found lying at the foot of the walls, as also by the remains of battlements, the proportions of which would warrant one in supposing them to have formed part of walls of no mean importance.

These battlements (fig. 20) are of a good quality of sandstone, showing signs of having been coated over with a fine white stucco, and their upper portions are rounded in the shape of a semicircle.

They measure 0·95 m. in height, 0·93 m. in width at the base, and 0·35 m. in thickness.

From the position in which they were found at the foot of the walls there can be no doubt as to their having either fallen or been thrown down from the top of the fortifications.

This rounded shape of battlement is interesting, for apparently



FIG. 20.—Battlements.

it is the first instance of such a form of construction met with in Sicily. It was probably taken by the Phœnicians from some ancient Assyrian or other Oriental design which was in use in their day and may have been handed down to still later times, for similarly shaped battlements have recently been met with in some Turkish fortifications at Tripoli.¹

¹ Cf. Professor S. Aurigemma, *Notiziario Archæologico*, 1916, pp. 306–307, fig. 3. These battlements, which were brought to light in the course of the demolition of some fortifications on the north side of the town of Tripoli, are only three in number,

Besides the battlements and fragments of cornices, several rather curious open gutter-pipes of sandstone have been found in this locality (fig. 21). These open stone pipes were evidently used for carrying off the rain-water from the tops of the buildings, and many of them have been met with in other parts of the island.

No stone or cobble pavement has been found at the south gateway, as in the case of the northern entrance, the roadway, as already mentioned, being unpaved and formed merely by hard-beaten earth, unsuitable for wheel traffic. Presumably no wheeled vehicles used this road, and, somewhat strange as it may appear, no road of any description, so far as at present can be seen, existed around the island, either within or without the city walls.

Ruins of some buildings are to be seen immediately inside the south gateway, but little can be said regarding them for the present, or until further excavations have been carried out in this spot. Considering, however, the proximity of this gateway to the small harbour that has recently been discovered, there can be little doubt that it and its neighbourhood will have formed part of the maritime quarter of the town, and that the buildings here will have consisted chiefly of stores and workshops, with dwellings belonging mainly to the sea-faring classes.

Apparent evidence of the efforts made by the besieged Motyans to defend themselves in the last great struggle against their assailants is to be noticed at this southern entrance to the town. The fore part of the gateway itself was found completely barricaded and effectually closed by a wall of stones of various shapes and sizes,¹ and, when found, they were apparently standing in their original position, though hidden from view by a more modern construction which had been built round and about them. They measure 1.15 m. in height by 1.35 m. in width at the base, and are placed at a distance of 0.57 m. apart from each other. No other battlements of this shape appear to have been found in the neighbourhood.

Professor Aurigemma is of opinion that this part of the Tripoli defences, where the battlements were found, having twice been subjected to a severe bombardment on the part of the French, first in 1685 and later in 1728, can hardly be supposed to have withstood such an onslaught, even in part, and he is therefore inclined to think that the battlements in question form part of a restoration carried out at a relatively recent date. It is, however, quite possible that the said restoration may have reproduced the battlements in their original form.

¹ This barricade has since been removed in order to carry out a more careful examination of the roadway beneath it, for the purpose of determining the construction and style of the gate.

while on the inside of the gateway and immediately behind it a roughly built wall is to be found extending across what must have been the roadway, and then curving inland, for a distance of over forty metres, in the direction of the harbour further west. This



FIG. 21.—Sandstone gutter-pipe.

wall, the height of which, at the present day, is not more than one or two metres, appears to have been very hurriedly built, but it probably served for some purpose of defence, the precise nature of which may perhaps be made clear by future excavations. Barring the roadway, as it does, there can be no doubt that it must have

been raised either during or preparatory to the great siege, when all that was humanly possible was being done to defend the devoted city.

As already mentioned in Chapter II. of this Part, in addition to the two main gateways of which we have just spoken, two other less important approaches to the town, or what would appear to be such, have recently been discovered at Motya, one on the east, the other on the west coast of the island. Neither of them, however, has so far been fully explored, nor can much be said yet concerning them and the remains of the buildings which adjoin them.

The eastern approach is situated close to the small mole which now serves as a landing-place for communication with the mainland, and it seems by no means improbable that this spot may have been used for a like purpose in the days of Motya, as it is the nearest point to the mainland.¹

The gateway measures only 1·70 m. in width, its walls on either side extending inland for a distance of 2·60 m., at which point the passage between them is barricaded with masonry, this having no doubt been effected at the same time as the southern entrance was obstructed. On the north side a well-built wall is to be found, extending for a distance of 8·60 m., when it forms an angle and meets an advanced tower.

Of the gateway on the west of the island little more can be seen than the foundations on both sides, the passage between these measuring 2·70 m. in width. The gate-post socket on the north side is clearly visible, that on the south side being less apparent. Adjoining the entrance on the south side are to be found the remains of well-constructed buildings, which possibly formed guard-houses, and numerous large, well-squared blocks and fragments of cornices are found in the immediate neighbourhood of this approach.

¹ This landing-place lies immediately opposite the fine *saline*, or salt-pans, of *Infersa* and *Ettore*, on the mainland coast, which are mentioned by Houel (*op. cit.*, p. 18, plate ix., fig. 2) as being in existence in 1782.

CHAPTER V

THE COTHON OF MOTYA (FIG. 22, PLAN E)

ALTHOUGH an island, and one surrounded by its own waters—for apparently no other town or settlement existed in those days on the shores of the inland bay to dispute or even to share the right of ownership,—we hear nothing of Motya having had a port or harbour of any kind ; nor, indeed, as already remarked when speaking of its siege and fall,¹ do we hear of the island city having possessed a fleet, either of warships or of trading vessels.

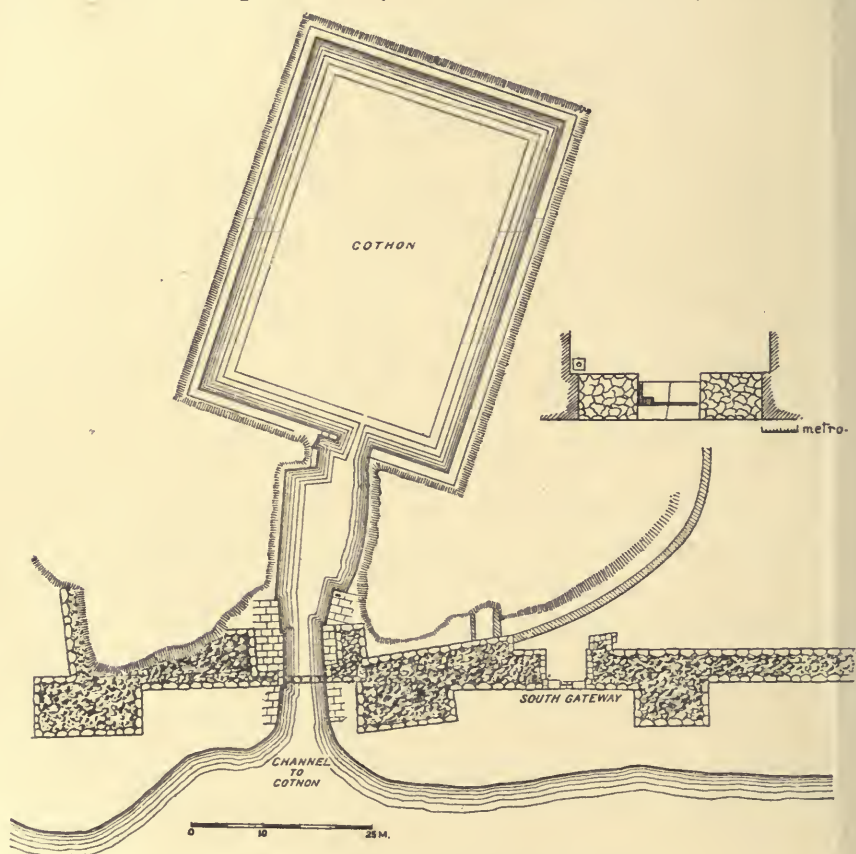
Though perhaps dependent, especially during its later days, either entirely or in part, on Carthage for protection by sea, and probably without fighting ships of its own, Motya must, however, surely have had considerable maritime commerce, and presumably, therefore, a mercantile fleet—one, moreover, of a size and importance, it may be supposed, worthy of the rich and prosperous town which we are led to believe it was at that period. Knowing also what keen and hardy mariners the Phœnicians were, and their great enterprise in commerce and trading, one cannot imagine the Motyans without ships of some kind.

Admitting that the whole of the surrounding bay may have been considered as the haven of Motya, an “all-haven” well deserving of the name in ordinary weather, there is nevertheless reason to think that the island must also have had some harbourage less exposed than its open shores, some sheltered inlet, where vessels could take refuge in stress of weather and where repairs, if not actual shipbuilding, might have been carried out. The waters of the “Stagnone,” though calm and placid enough in fine weather, can be rough at times, and, when the wind happens to blow fresh

¹ *Vide ante*, Part I., Chapter VI.

from seaward, a fairly big sea may run, making anchorage in the open roadstead insecure.

It was therefore not so great a surprise as might have been expected when such an inlet, with a small harbour, was recently discovered, the surprise, if any, being that its identity should not



PLAN E.—The Cothon and the South Gateway.

have been previously recognised, seeing that the basin has continued to remain open throughout all these centuries.

The question, however, which follows is whether the small harbour which has now been discovered could have sufficed for the requirements of a town like Motya, or whether it is not probable that another port, somewhat similar, perhaps, to that already discovered, may have existed in another part of the island.



FIG. 22.—The Cothon.

The spot where the present-day landing-place and mole of Motya are situated, that is to say, the point on the east coast which is nearest to the mainland shores, may possibly have been made use of in the old days as it is now, and the fact of the apparent pre-existence of another entrance to the town here favours this supposition; but there can hardly have been a port in this open and unsheltered spot. Close by, however, and at but a short distance to the southward of the present landing-place, the coast-line curves inland somewhat, forming a small natural cove, and a dip in the land immediately above and behind this sinuosity suggests the possibility of another small harbour having once existed there.

This is, however, one must frankly confess, but mere conjecture, and so far there are no actual grounds for concluding that any other harbour formerly existed at Motya besides the one already discovered. Further exploration will eventually clear up the point one way or another.

Meanwhile, the discovery already made is of no mean importance, for, besides supplying all but conclusive evidence of the existence of Motyan ships, it is in itself a highly interesting illustration of a Phœnician Cothon or artificially made inland port.¹

Though the walls of the basin are wanting in great part so far as regards their upper courses, their foundations are still more or less intact, while the quays on each side of the channel leading to the sea are also still fairly well preserved, and, taken as a whole, this little port probably shows more of its original construction than do most of the few Phœnician harbours so far discovered.

Of the Cothons of Carthage somewhat more appears to be known than of most of these ancient inland ports, although even they do not seem to have ever been thoroughly explored. Other Cothons which are known to have existed along this part of the North African coast are those of Utica, Hadrumetum, Thapsus, and Mehedia, while quite recently another of these harbours has been brought to light at Lebda, the ancient Leptis Magna.² This

¹ "*Cothona sunt portus non naturales, sed manu et arte facti*" (Servius, i. 1). κώθων and *cothona* are the Greek and Latin names for such artificially made harbours. Apparently the word in its native form has not, so far, been met with either in the Phœnician or Hebrew languages.

² S. Aurigemma, *Notiziario Archeologico*, i. (1915) p. 46, fig. 10.

last-mentioned Cothon has so far only been partially explored, and little can, for the present, be said regarding it except that it is situated at the mouth of a small stream running into the sea at this spot; and that it appears to have been a haven of some importance.

The original Cothon of Utica, or what would appear to have been the earliest of its harbours—for, according to recent research, other and larger ones were constructed in Utica in its later days,¹—resembles our Motyan Cothon in being of a rectangular and oblong shape, though it was rather larger, its dimensions having been about 103 m. in length by 33 m. in width. What was apparently the most recent harbour of Utica and formed its military Cothon, was a much larger and altogether a far more important construction, resembling the military Cothon of Carthage in having the corners of its quays rounded, and in having a small islet in the middle of the basin, on which stood a fortified building, supposed to have been the admiral's palace or castle.²

Like the early Cothon of Utica, that of Mehedia appears also to have been of rectangular and oblong shape, measuring about 147 m. in length by 73 m. in breadth, with an opening to the sea of about 13 m. wide.³

The rectangular-shaped harbour would seem to have been the earlier form of construction, that with curvilinear quays having probably been introduced at a later date.

The similarity between the oldest Cothon of Utica and our Motyan harbour is interesting, and, added to other points of resemblance which apparently existed between the two colonies, might lead one to think that there may not have been much, if any, difference between the dates of their respective foundations. Whether the spread of Phœnician colonisation in the Western Mediterranean was effected along the North African coast from Egypt, or whether it came from the north, by way of Sicily, is not known, though the fact of no traces having been found of Phœnician settlements on the North African coast between Egypt and Leptis

¹ Appian, viii. 75.

² Daux, *Vue d'Utique restaurée telle qu'elle était en l'an 46 avant notre ère*.

³ R. L. Playfair, *Handbook, Tunis* (1895), p. 331.

Magna is perhaps in favour of the latter having been the case. Motya, like the North African settlements, was probably founded by Tyrians.

The small harbour recently discovered at Motya lies not far from the southern gateway and its western bastion, the channel connecting the port with the outer sea passing between the fortification walls immediately adjoining the latter construction.

The basin is of a rectangular shape, measuring 51 m. in length by 37 m. in breadth. Its depth of water at the present day is insignificant, being not more than about a metre or a metre and a half; but on penetrating the mud bottom the sounding-rod shows a depth of over three metres in some parts. It is not, however, easy to tell the precise depth, owing to the vast quantity of mud that has accumulated during the past centuries. Several tons of this mud were carted away when the basin was first recognised as a harbour, and some dredging was carried out, but much more mud still remains to be removed.¹

Though certainly not large for a present-day harbour, this basin was no doubt large enough to accommodate a considerable number of the mercantile craft which were in use at the time when Motya flourished, and it probably formed a refuge for such small vessels in bad weather, as well as serving for their repairs when required.

For many years past the open basin of water, choked up as it was by the influx silting of centuries, and thus rendered comparatively shallow, had been used as a salt-pan, and, as already stated in an earlier chapter, it was commonly known by the name of "La Salinella." At some time or other it may possibly have served as a *piscina*, or fish reservoir, particularly during the Jesuit occupation of the island.

The channel, or waterway, connecting the harbour with the sea, until recently opened out, appeared as a mere cutting through the soil and seaweed that had accumulated there, and showed no

¹ The dredging and removal of an accumulation of centuries of insilted material, as in this case, is by no means an easy operation, to say nothing of the possibility of its proving harmful on account of noxious exhalations. Count C. Borgia's death, when exploring the Carthage cothons, appears to have been due to miasma, and Beulé's investigations there were apparently curtailed for the same reason.

sign of the well-built jetty or quay which lay hidden on each side of it, a construction that undoubtedly dates from the same period as that of the fortification walls adjoining it.¹

The width of the channel had probably been purposely reduced in recent times, in order to adapt it to the requirements of a salt-pan. Its original width, as may now be seen, was not less than about seven metres in any part, but this measurement was apparently not uniform throughout the entire length of the channel, and towards the actual entrance to the basin it would seem to have been wider. The total length of the channel, from the sea-shore to the mouth of the harbour, is about thirty metres, and it is paved with large slabs of squared stone throughout a considerable portion of its extent.

The quays on either side of the waterway are built of large, well-worked blocks of sandstone, and a similar material appears to have been used in the construction of the walls of the harbour itself, although, as already stated, a great part of the upper courses of the latter is wanting at the present day, the material having no doubt been carried off for building elsewhere.

Near the mouth of the harbour a portion of the quays has given way and fallen into the channel, but a considerable part of these constructions is fortunately still in a good state of preservation.

At a distance of about five metres from the sea, and exactly in a line between the fortification walls on each side of the quays, the latter show signs of having had a gate or drawbridge running across and closing the passage through the channel when so required. Thus a portion of the quays was inside and a portion outside the line of the town-walls.

The bottom of the channel lying immediately between the walls in this spot is *dished* or rounded at the sides.

Here again, as in the case of the south gateway, evidence is apparent of the Motyan citizens' efforts to defend themselves during the great siege, for one sees the passage through the channel

¹ Allusion to the channel of the Cothon is to be found in Schubring's *Motye—Lilybæum* (p. 61), though the author seems to have imagined that a street existed here, with a cutting through it for the passage of water.

obstructed by three large blocks of squared stone placed across the bottom of it, in such a way as to prevent most effectually any vessel entering the harbour. This expedient was probably resorted to as likely to prove a more efficient and reliable form of obstruction than the drawbridge.

Westward of the channel entrance, and at a spot which forms the extreme south-western point of the island, are the remains of an advanced tower, showing a few massive unworked blocks similar to those of the north gateway towers; while between the channel and this advanced tower are to be seen, lying on the ground, more of the rounded battlements, like those found near the south gateway.

The fortifications and other constructions along the southern coast of the island, with the exception, perhaps, of the tower just spoken of, at the south-western corner, appear to be all of one style of architecture, and they probably all date from the same period.

When standing, this southern front, with its gateway and embattled towers and walls, extending in a straight line from east to west for over two hundred metres, must have presented a remarkably fine and imposing appearance.

One can reconstruct it in thought, and also picture to oneself the little Motyan harbour full of shipping, with the picturesque craft of Phœnician days loading and unloading their cargoes, and the quays covered with bales of merchandise and thronged with busy life.

The sea immediately outside the channel leading to the harbour is very shallow at the present day, as it is generally throughout the Stagnone; but soundings show that the original depth must have been much greater than it is now. Proceeding still further outside, however, deeper water is met with, chiefly in tortuous channels, which are made use of at the present day, as they no doubt were in old times, for the navigation of the larger-sized craft.

With the exception of the partial exploration carried out at the back of the south gateway, of which mention has been made in the preceding chapter, no excavations have yet been undertaken in this neighbourhood, with a view of ascertaining what buildings existed around the harbour and between it and the south gateway.

Considering, however, that this quarter probably formed the centre of the sea-faring activity of the town, it seems probable that it will have been given over mainly to docks, stores, and similar buildings connected with maritime traffic.

Adjoining each other so closely as they do, one may almost



FIG. 23.—The Cothon and its channel before excavation.

couple the harbour approach and the south gateway together, and venture to ask why two communications with the sea should have existed in such close proximity. Can the gateway have been reserved for passengers, while the harbour quays served solely for goods traffic ?

Fig. 23 shows the Cothon and the channel leading to it before they were opened out.

CHAPTER VI

THE HOUSE OF THE MOSAICS (PLAN F) AND THE "CAPPIDDAZZU" RUINS (PLAN G)

ON the south-eastern side of the island, where a gentle slope leads down from the higher ground to the sea-shore, the ruins have been found of a group of buildings, a portion of which would appear to have formed a dwelling-house of some importance, and one which, from its construction and general appearance, would lead one to suppose that it had been the residence of some wealthy citizen.

The remainder of the buildings forming this group, to judge from what is now to be seen of their ruins and from the remains of numerous pieces of ornamental stonework, earthenware, and colouring ingredients that have been found on the spot, would seem to have been devoted to store-rooms and possibly artists' workshops.

To judge from its style of architecture and construction, there can be little doubt as to the dwelling-house above mentioned having been planned and built by capable architects and artisans, very possibly Greeks, and probably during the later period of Motya. A confirmation of the probability of the building dating from a recent period of Motya's history appears to be found in the fact of the walls of older constructions having been discovered immediately below it.

The level of the floor of these older constructions lies only half a metre or so below that of the newer building, and apparently the latter was built, in great part, on the foundations of the former.

The chief and most important feature of this recently discovered Motyan dwelling, a feature which has suggested the name given to the building, is undoubtedly a peristyle with its portico,

the pavement of which, on its northern and western sides, is formed by a highly interesting mosaic of natural sea-pebbles, divided into panels or sections, each with a different design, the whole being framed by a wide triple border, also of pebbles, showing the mæander pattern, surmounted by a handsome floral design of an uncommon pattern, and above that one resembling the South Italian wave pattern (figs. 24A and 24B).

Unfortunately, the greater portion of the pavement is not in a very good state of preservation, and in many parts it is almost destroyed, while in others the details of the mosaic designs are hardly discernible. The mosaic work extends on the north-eastern side for a length of 10·30 m. and on the north-western for 6·60 m., its breadth being 2·65 m. on the former side and 3·20 m. on the latter.

The pebbles forming the mosaic, apparently ordinary sea-pebbles gathered from the adjacent shores, vary somewhat in size, but are mostly from five to eight centimetres in circumference. In colour they are black, white, and grey, the darker shades being used for the groundwork of the mosaic and the white for the outlines of the figures and devices. The pebbles are set, or embedded, in a rough cement.

The designs or picture panels represent animals, the figure of a wild beast, probably a lion, attacking a horse being distinguishable in one, that of a lion seizing a bull in another, while a third panel shows a griffin attacking a horse or stag.

This pebble pavement, which presumably belongs to a late period in the history of Motya, is the only example of its kind which has, so far, been met with on the island, although other descriptions of rough mosaic floors have been found, as well as a considerable number of small black and white cubes or *tesserae*, which must have formed pavements in buildings of some importance.

Not the least interesting feature of the pavement is the combination it shows of both Phœnician and Greek designs, the picture subjects depicted being distinctly Phœnician in character, while the ornamental borders are Greek.

In this mosaic pavement we have an example of what was probably the earliest form of Greek mosaic work, and one which in its figure designs seems to show a development or advance on

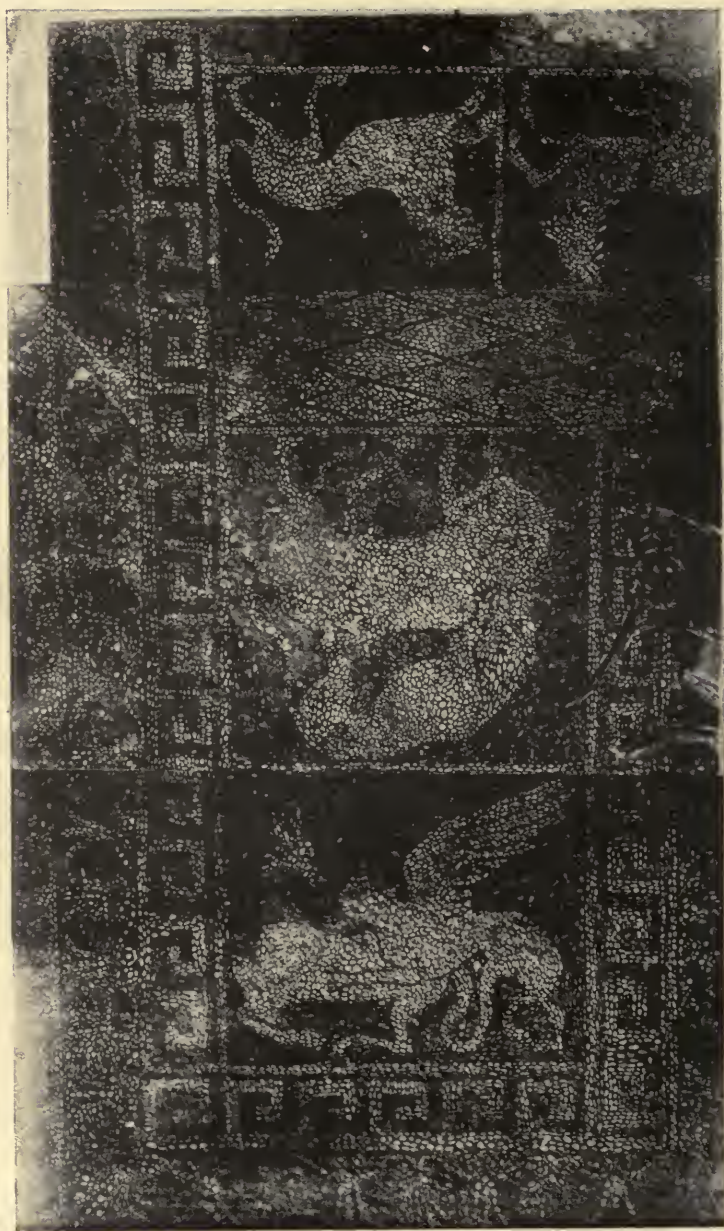


FIG. 24A.—Mosaic pavement.



FIG. 24 B.—Mosaic pavement.

the simpler geometrical and floral patterns which were apparently first used in pebble mosaics. The date of our Motya mosaics cannot have been later than the beginning of the fourth century B.C., when Motya ceased to exist, but presumably it was not very much earlier, and we shall not, we think, be far wrong in placing it in the second half of the fifth century B.C.

Pebble mosaic pavements which are to be found in the pronaos of the temple of Zeus at Olympia are supposed to be of a date not earlier than the first half of the fourth century B.C.¹ Apparently, in addition to floral patterns, these Olympia mosaics also have a figure subject.

In simple patterns pebble mosaics were probably in use in Greece at an earlier date, and in their more developed designs they apparently continued to be used for a certain time even after *tesserae* had come into fashion.

Examples of pebble mosaics have been met with in excavations carried out near the Enneakrounos, as well as in the King's garden, at Athens,² and in 1884 some were discovered in a house at Peiræus.³

Around a part of the peristyle are to be seen the remains of the walls which supported the colonnade, indications of the position of one of the columns being visible in one spot. The walls supporting the colonnade on the other sides have disappeared, but one can see where they stood.

The total measurements of the court are 17.50 m. by 6.57 m. The greater portion of it is paved or coated with a rough cement, and towards its eastern end a slight depression, gradually becoming a channel, has been made in it, no doubt for the purpose of carrying off the rain-water. Where this channel ends a small well is to be found, the depth of which, at the present day, is only about three metres. The mouth of the well is rectangular and measures about sixty-five centimetres square.

The main entrance to the house would appear at first sight to have been on the upper or northern side, though this is not quite

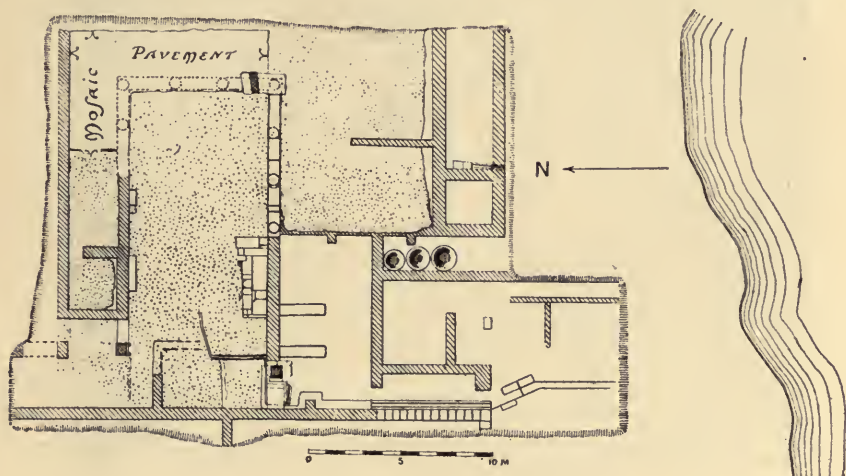
¹ *Arch. Zeit.*, 1879, p. 153.

² Cf. Dr C. Smith, *Ann. Brit. Sch. Athens*, 1896-7, pp. 184 *seqq.*

³ Cf. Cornish, *Dict. Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 242.

clear, and further exploration is necessary to establish the certainty of this, as well as to enlighten us with regard to other parts of the fabric generally.

As may be seen by the accompanying plan (Plan F), the area occupied by the group of buildings, so far explored, in this spot extends from north to south, or, to be precise, from north-north-east to south-south-west, for a distance of about thirty-five metres, and from east-north-east to west-south-west for about twenty-five metres. The higher part to the north is that on which stands the



PLAN F.—The House of the Mosaics.

residential building just spoken of, the lower portion being that occupied by the other buildings which we have imagined to have been stores or workshops. In no part of the whole group are any walls to be met with showing more than their foundations and basements, and in some parts even these are wanting, making it difficult in some cases to trace the outline of the fabric.

In a corner of what would appear to have been one of the rooms of the lower portion of the group of buildings were found five Doric capitals of sandstone, apparently of recent construction, piled one on top of the other, as if they had been stored there temporarily. As shown by the colour of the stone in some parts, these capitals had evidently suffered from the action of fire, and

seemed very friable when handled. They are all alike, and show the following measurements: square of abacus, 0·63 m.; depth of abacus, 0·10 m.; depth of echinus, 0·13 m.; depth of collar, 0·05 m.; diameter of collar, 0·42 m. (fig. 25).

Among the ruins close by were also found the fragments of a handsome Corinthian capital of the best Greek period, as well as the base of an Ionic-Attic column (fig. 26) and other fragments of Doric columns. The latter would seem to belong to two different



FIG. 25.—A Doric capital.

sizes of columns, one with dimensions apparently corresponding with those just given of the five capitals found together, the others somewhat larger. Some of these fragments show signs of having been coated with white stucco.

Mention may here be made of two large capitals existing on the adjacent island, called Isola Lunga, which are now used as tables in front of a cottage, but which were probably once at Motya. They are alike, and their dimensions are as follows: square of abacus, 0·88 m.; depth of abacus, 0·21 m.; depth of echinus, 0·29 m.; diameter of collar, 0·60 m.

In another room were found three large earthenware vases or *pithoi*, two of the same size, the third somewhat smaller, which had probably served for storing liquids, or possibly for mixing colours.

The necks of all three vases are broken, but the total height of the larger jars, when intact, cannot have been less than one metre, their circumference, at the widest part of the belly, being nearly four and a half metres.

Near these jars was found an amphora containing a quantity of red pigment, of a description apparently similar to that commonly used at Pompeii. A good deal more of this and other colouring materials was found elsewhere near this spot.



FIG. 26.—Base of Ionic-Attic column.

Many small amphoræ and other terracotta vases were found among the debris of the ruins in this neighbourhood, including Greek figured vases, but the greater part of them were in fragments or more or less damaged.

Among the other terracotta objects of interest found here may be mentioned a seal with a purely Phœnician design, representing two palm-trees with an animal beneath them, a handsome *arula* with a design representing a centaur, some masks, and several *lucernæ*.

A few weapons and other articles in bronze were also discovered here, as well as some coins, both silver and bronze.

In conclusion, and returning to what has been said regarding

this group of buildings in the early part of this chapter, we think we need have no hesitation in looking upon the portion forming a dwelling as being distinctly a Greek house. Its style of architecture and construction, as well as its mosaic pebble pavement and its general character, all point to this; while as regards the adjoining buildings, forming part of the same group, which would seem to have been workshops and store-rooms, it is quite possible that they may have belonged to the owner of the dwelling-house, for apparently, as in present days, Greek houses often had such shops and stores attached to them.

THE "CAPPIDDAZZU" RUINS

In Chapter IV., when speaking of the north gateway and road leading into the town, mention has been made of the ruins of what would appear to have been constructions of some importance having been discovered at a spot situated about one hundred metres or so inland and to the southward of the gateway. This spot, which is commonly known by the name of "Cappiddazzu,"¹ stands at a comparatively high level and probably formed an important quarter of the old town.

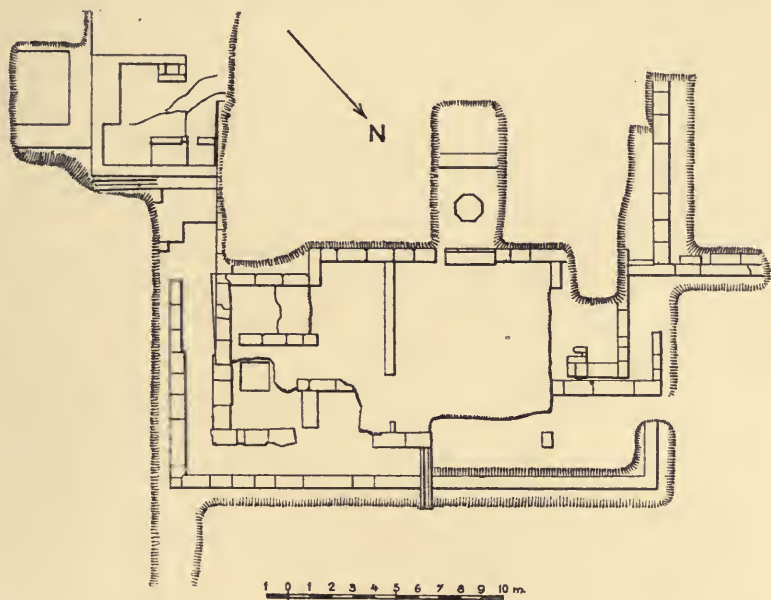
The ruins which have so far been brought to light there, and which, for the present, may be called by the above-mentioned local though somewhat uneuphonious name, cover a considerable area, and would appear to have belonged to buildings of different periods. A portion of them would seem to have formed the foundations and basement of an edifice of considerable size and importance which, if we may judge from its architecture and the material employed in its construction, probably dates from the best and latest period of Motya's history.

Owing, however, to these ruins having been built over at a later period, one apparently subsequent to Motya's destruction, and being in great part still hidden by the newer constructions, which,

¹ The name *Cappiddazzu*, the Sicilian for *Cappellazzo*, meaning a large hat, appears to have attached itself to this locality in consequence of the legend of a spectre wearing a large hat, the ghost of a hermit at Motya, having been supposed to haunt the neighbourhood. Possibly some scarecrow, put up to frighten off the birds from the corn-fields, may have given rise to the tale.

for the present, it has been thought advisable to leave *in situ*, it is difficult, for the present, to say anything of a positive nature regarding them, and one must await further exploration in order to be able to determine what the building or buildings may have been.

As shown by the accompanying plan (Plan G), a solidly built wall extends in an unbroken line on the north-east side of the ruins for a distance of about twenty metres, while other similarly



PLAN G.—The "Cappiddazzu" ruins.

well-built walls are to be found running at right angles to it on the south-east and north-west sides, though how far they extend has not yet been positively determined.

On the north-east and south-east sides, inner walls of the same good construction run parallel with the outer walls and at a distance of about one and a half metre from them, though at a higher level, and forming, as it were, the basement of a building on a raised platform.

This might suggest the possibility of this building having formed a temple or sanctuary, and the fact of a square basin, which might

have served the purpose of a sacrificial font, having been found sunk in the floor near the south-east end of the building, might perhaps be considered as lending weight to this supposition.

The environment of the building, however, hardly corresponds with the secluded situation which is supposed to have been usually chosen for a Phœnician place of worship, although this alone, perhaps, would not have been sufficient to preclude the possibility of a sanctuary having stood here, considering how precious space must have been at Motya, particularly during its later days.

In addition, however, to the fact of the locality not being what would, in ordinary circumstances, have been selected as the site for a temple, nothing has so far been found among the ruins, such as the remains of columns or other similar architectural work, to justify us in entertaining the opinion that such a building existed here. For the present, therefore, and until further exploration may have thrown further and clearer light on the point, this question must remain in abeyance, and we must content ourselves with looking upon these ruins as having simply belonged to some important public building.

The material employed in the construction and the excellent workmanship of the building certainly warrant this, and, as already stated, point to the edifice having been built during the latter period of Motya, when that city was presumably at its zenith, and attention was being devoted to its internal embellishment as well as to fortifying its exterior.

The constructions already spoken of, as overlying the older Phœnician buildings, would appear to have formed dwellings of small importance and somewhat inferior workmanship, though rather better work is noticeable in one spot, where a small octagonal basin, or fountain, is to be found, adjoining what would appear to have been a courtyard. The remains found here might lead one to look upon them as dating from the Saracenic occupation of Sicily.

Somewhat further to the south of the ruins already spoken of other walls and remains of buildings have been brought to light, both Phœnician constructions and, above them, more modern buildings. All these remains, however, have so far been but very superficially explored, and little of a positive nature can at present

be said concerning them. The fact of the ruins of a later period covering the older structures greatly adds to the difficulty of the work of excavation, and, necessitating as it does extra care and attention, renders progress slower than it might otherwise be.

Numerous *tesserae*, or cut cubes, black and white, and of small size, were found in this neighbourhood, showing that mosaic pavements probably existed here.

Allusion should also here be made to some human skeletons found in this spot, which were not placed in any coffin, but laid in the bare earth, and at a slight depth below the surface of the soil. They are probably burials of a period subsequent to Phœnician or Punic times.

Among the constructions just referred to, however, mention may be made of a well, about four metres in depth, the mouth of which is formed of well-squared sandstone blocks, and which would appear to have been of some importance. It apparently dates from an early period, but whether it is Phœnician cannot, for the present, be stated with certainty. Besides this well there is a solidly built cistern, with the remains of a water-trough adjoining it, but these are probably both of a comparatively modern period.

CHAPTER VII

THE MOTYAN CEMETERIES

THE EARLY NECROPOLIS AT MOTYA (Fig. 27)

IN Chapter II. mention has been made of the discovery at Motya of a necropolis on the basis of incineration, evidently of an early date, the existence of which appears to have been previously unknown, or had never before been recorded. This discovery was an unexpected one, for the cemetery at Birgi, on the mainland, had hitherto been looked upon as the only Motyan burial-ground.

That the Birgi cemetery was a burial-ground of Motya there can be no doubt, but it would now seem that it was not the only one belonging to this ancient town, and that another and apparently older necropolis existed on the island itself.

The discovery of this cemetery on the island was made in 1907, when, in the course of some excavations which were being carried out along the line of fortifications on the north of the island, it was brought to light, and a portion of it measuring some fifty metres in length by eighteen metres in width was exposed to view.

As previously mentioned, it seems probable that this island necropolis formed the original burial-ground of the early Phœnician settlers, in the days when Motya was still a comparatively small settlement, and that it was abandoned on the colony growing larger and the town expanding, when a new site had to be chosen for a cemetery, and that of Birgi, on the mainland, was selected for the purpose.

In the case of a prosperous and rapidly developing population, as we are led to conclude that of Motya was, with the boundaries of its building area strictly circumscribed by the limited size of the island, the necessity of economising every available inch of land



FIG. 27.—The early Necropolis at Motya.

for building purposes, supported also, no doubt, by sanitary considerations, will have urged the Motyans to effect this change of necropolis, while the choice of Birgi as a site for the new cemetery will probably at once have suggested itself for reasons which will be mentioned further on in this chapter.

As already stated, the recently discovered necropolis is situated on the northern shore of the island, which in this particular spot is formed by a low cliff or bank, and it extends inland not only as far as the enceinte wall, but actually beneath and on the other side of it. This fact, which has been verified by excavating below the wall,¹ would show that the necropolis is of an older date and existed prior to the building of the wall, which must have been effected at a later period, possibly after the abandonment of the locality as a burial-ground and when the Motyan colony had become sufficiently important to render it necessary, or prudent, to take steps for its safety by erecting fortifications. These defence walls may even have been raised hurriedly, at some time, perhaps, when the colony was threatened by an invasion, and when any sentiment there may have been on the part of the inhabitants with regard to the sanctity of their burial-ground had to be sacrificed to the necessities of war.

Judging, however, in any case, from the type and construction of the walls in this particular spot, they certainly do not belong to the latter period of Motya, when the fortifications were of a far superior order and workmanship, but were probably considerably older, dating perhaps from the time when Motya ceased to be a mere colony and first developed into a city.

It is of course possible that Motya, in its earlier days, may have had an enceinte of limited extent, but it seems more probable that it was an open town and had no fortifications whatever around it at that period.

The character of some of the pottery and other articles found in the tombs of this necropolis, further mention of which will be made shortly, would point to the cemetery belonging to an early period of Motya's history, while there can be no doubt that the spot

¹ In order the better to be able to verify this fact, a small portion of the wall was temporarily taken down, and afterwards replaced in its original position.

must have continued in use as a burial-ground for a considerable length of time. In addition to the pottery and other objects of an early date met with in some of the tombs, articles of a later period are also found in this necropolis, articles which were probably introduced into the colony after the development of trading and intercourse between Motya and Greek Sicily, and when Motya had no doubt already commenced to take an active part in commerce.

This island necropolis is of a rude and primitive character, and one which, so far as can be seen at present, is almost exclusively on the basis of cremation, although a few sarcophagi have been found in one part of it. This fact might perhaps lead one to infer that the necropolis was abandoned at the time of a change among the Phœnicians from one form of burial to the other, and that it was because of this change in the form of burial that the Motyans decided on the change of necropolis. It seems probable that the change was due to the lack of space on the island, though it is interesting, at the same time, to note how readily the Motyans appear to have adopted, or, one should perhaps say, returned to, inhumation, notwithstanding that cremation had been practised by them for so long.

This suggests the question as to the possibility of the early settlers at Motya having at first inhumed their dead, either by burial in rock chambers hollowed out of cliff-sides or in tombs underground, and of their having only later learned the practice of cremation from the Greeks. So far, however, nothing has been found at Motya to authorise this supposition, though perhaps such early inhumation tombs may yet be met with in some spot on the island which has hitherto not been fully explored.¹

At Carthage, cremation appears to have been first adopted only about the commencement of the fourth century B.C., and after the conclusion of Dionysius' first Punic War, when, in consequence of her reverses at the end of that campaign being attributed to the desecration by the Carthaginian soldiery of the temple of Demeter and Persephone at Syracuse, Carthage, desirous of

¹ Quite recently a few human uncremated remains have been found in a certain spot at a depth of about two metres below the surface, together with a small piece of gold-leaf and some fragments of ostrich egg-shell.

propitiating these deities, admitted them into her pantheon, and not only instituted their cult among her people but entrusted the charge of this cult to Greek priests.¹ To the influence of the latter is ascribed the introduction of cremation at Carthage, and, although inhumation always continued in use there and was perhaps the more popular form of burial, the two were apparently practised contemporaneously.²

An interesting Punic inscription, apparently commemorating the erection of two new temples or sanctuaries, dedicated to the Phœnician deities Ashtoreth and Tanit, who by some authorities are supposed to have corresponded to Demeter and Persephone, was discovered at Carthage in 1898.³ Not the least interesting feature in this inscription is the fact of its dedication referring to Ashtoreth and Tanit as two distinct deities, these two names having generally been looked upon as referring to one and the same goddess.

Whatever may have been the connection between the above-mentioned divinities, there can be no doubt as to the cult of Demeter and Persephone having been firmly established at one time in Carthage, and of it having continued to be observed there down to a very late period of that city's existence. The very coinage of Carthage during the first half of the fourth century B.C. is sufficient to show to what a point this cult attained.

Even in Roman times these deities, as Ceres and Proserpine, must have continued to be highly revered at Carthage, if we may judge from the statue of Ceres and the numerous fragments of other statuary and architectural work, either representing or connected with that goddess, which have been found, together with a Roman inscription referring to her cult and priesthood at Carthage.⁴

From the fact of so many remains of such statuary having been found, and chiefly in one particular spot, it is not unreasonable

¹ Diod., xiv. 63 and 77.

² Cremation appears to have been practised also at Hadrumetum (*cf.* Delattre, *Nécropole punique de Saint-Louis*, 1896, p. 80).

³ R. P. Delattre, *Carthage : Nécropole punique voisine de Sainte-Monique*, février 1898, pp. 5 and 6, fig. 7.

⁴ The National Museum at Turin possesses an interesting piece of sculpture from Carthage, representing a goddess holding a basket of fruit in one hand. It is of undoubted Greek workmanship and evidently represents Ceres.

to suppose that a sanctuary or sanctuaries for the worship of Ceres and Proserpine may have existed there, and possibly even that the edifices originally erected for the Phœnician deities may have afterwards served for the Greek and Roman divinities.

In the time of St Augustine, we learn that pagan sanctuaries were numerous in Carthage, that of Tanit, or the *Dea cælestis*, as she was called, the patron deity of the town, with its sacred groves and courts enclosed by porticoes, around the central statue of the divinity, occupying a considerable area. The Phœnician Moloch, under the name of Saturn, also had his temple, though, according to St Augustine, the cult of this divinity was then in its decadence.¹

In the spot where the Punic and Roman inscriptions were discovered, numerous terracotta lamps, both Punic and Greek, have been found, bearing the triangular emblem of Tanit, and among them several ornamented also with a basket laden with fruit.

In Phœnicia, as in some other ancient countries, the earliest form of burial was apparently hypogean, natural caves and grottoes being made use of for the purpose at first, and later on, when metal tools and implements had come into general use, artificial sepulchres being constructed by hollowing out cavities in the live rock, or by adapting existing caves to the purpose required. Still later on, burials will have been erected in masonry-built sepulchres or vaults underground, the form of interment, however, in all cases being that of inhumation.

According to good authority,² the Phœnicians, in their own country, were not in the habit of burning their dead; but apparently their colonists, in other lands, had no religious scruples on this point, and did not hesitate to deviate from the custom of the mother-country, if so required, either in this respect or in other religious rites and practices.

The particular mode of disposing of the remains of the dead, indeed, probably depended, in great measure, on the local conditions prevailing in a spot. Thus at Motya, where the extent of territory

¹ St Augustine, *Confessions*, iii. 1.

² Cf. Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'art dans l'antiquité*, iii. 197. According to Delattre, however (*op. cit.*, 1896, p. 80), examples of cremation have been met with at Sidon.

was limited and where the burial-ground had necessarily to be placed at no great distance from the habitations, it was doubtless found expedient, if not absolutely necessary, both for economy of space as well as for hygienic reasons, to adopt cremation in preference to inhumation, and this practice was probably followed until the colony had so increased in size as to render a change of site imperative.

The restricted space at Motya may indeed be assumed to have been the chief if not the sole reason for cremation having been adopted there, for, as already demonstrated, once the change of necropolis had been effected and economy of space ceased to be a consideration, inhumation at once appears to have become the recognised and practically the exclusive form of burial, and this seems to have continued throughout the remainder of Motya's life-history. This fact is all the more striking when one considers how Greek customs and Greek influence had penetrated into Motya during its later periods.

Contrary to what appears to have been observed at Carthage,¹ in Sardinia,² and perhaps elsewhere, at Motya the two forms of burial do not seem to have been practised contemporaneously or to have gone side by side.

The few sarcophagi found in one part of the Motyan island necropolis cannot be taken as evidence in favour of that supposition, while the all but exclusive practice of inhumation which is clearly shown to have been followed at Birgi is distinctly opposed to it.

The mere fact, moreover, of tombs being found containing both forms of burial would not naturally prove their contemporaneity, as apparently the older Punic sepulchres were often reopened and served for later burials.

¹ Cf. R. P. Delattre, *op. cit.*, janvier 1898, p. 5.

² Cf. G. Patroni, *Nora, Colonia Fenicia in Sardegna*, p. 60. According to Professor Patroni, cremation was practised among the Sardo-Phœnicians, and, for a certain period, existed in Sardinia contemporaneously with inhumation. Though at Carthage cremation appears to have come into use with the adoption of the cult of Greek deities and in consequence of Greek influence, this cannot have been the case in Sardinia, where little or no Greek influence seems to have penetrated. The incineration necropolis at Nora shows hardly any trace of Hellenic art or customs, while the numerous figured *stelæ* that have been found in Sardinia are strictly Phœnician in character.

No evidence of "scorching," or the partial burning of corpses, as practised in some countries, appears to have been met with either at Motya or at Birgi, nor any case of embalming, the custom so universally followed in Egypt. Neither does the practice of *scarnitura*, or the removal of the flesh from the bones before burial, seem ever to have existed here, as it did in some of the early Sicilian cemeteries.

Besides the few sarcophagi already referred to as having been found in the island necropolis, and which presumably were among its latest burials, possibly the very last carried out there, a certain number of sarcophagi have also been met with in the immediate vicinity of the north gateway; but these probably belong to a very late period in the history of Motya, perhaps to that of the great siege, when access to the mainland and its burial-ground had been cut off.

The probability of these tombs having belonged to a very late period is enhanced by the fact of two coins having been met with in one of the sarcophagi. As in the case of the earlier Carthaginian burials, so also at Motya, the absence of coins is very noticeable, not only in the early island necropolis, but also in the later cemetery on the mainland.

Further mention will be made of these sarcophagi at the conclusion of this chapter, and some particulars will be given of them and their contents.

No wooden coffins, or vestiges of them, have been met with either at Motya or at Birgi. Although stone sarcophagi seem to have been used exclusively in Syria in the earlier days of the Phœnicians, later on wooden coffins appear to have come into use, to a certain extent, in that country; while at Carthage the remains of such coffins, together with their metal fastenings, have been found in great abundance. The Punic wood coffins appear to have been nearly always painted red. The custom of painting coffins, however, was not confined to those of wood alone, but, as we know, extended also, in later times, to the marble and stone sarcophagi.¹

¹ A sandstone sarcophagus, hollowed out of a single block, which was discovered at Girgenti in 1830, and is now preserved in the Palermo Museum, is painted red internally and shows traces of varied colouring externally.

All the sarcophagi met with either at Motya itself or at Birgi are laid in the earth or rocky subsoil, and at no great depth below the surface. In no case, it may be stated, have tombs been found placed in chambers or vaults cut in the live rock, as in old Phœnicia, Carthage, and elsewhere. This may be explained by the fact of the subsoil at Motya and Birgi not being sufficiently solid or consistent enough to allow of such chambers being made. At a very slight depth below the upper rocky crust a soft cretaceous tufa occurs which would be unsuitable for the purpose.

Had there been even but moderate depth of solid rock, it would probably have been made use of for hypogea. At the Phœnician colony of Nora, on the south coast of the island of Sardinia, where an inhumation as well as an incineration necropolis existed, the hypogea of the former were but three metres or so below the surface of the ground. Infiltration from the sea would seem to have precluded burial at a lower depth.¹

In the neighbourhood of Marsala, the site of ancient Lilybæum, where a more solid rock formation is to be found of a considerable depth, inhumation seems to have been the customary form of interment, and sepulchre chambers are to be met with in large number.

The district lying immediately inland of the present town of Marsala is particularly rocky, and Lilybæum must undoubtedly have had one or more burial-grounds there. An open, uncultivated space to be found at the present day near the Capuchin monastery, on the north of the town, is apparently honeycombed with tombs. So far, however, no systematic exploration has been carried out in this spot, though several of the tombs have been brought to light there at different times and, after having been rifled of their contents, have been then closed again.

One such tomb, recently visited by the author, was reached by a perpendicular rectangular well or shaft, measuring 6.50 m. in depth, with indentations made in one of its wall sides to serve as steps.² The mouth, or aperture, of the well measured 2.20 m. by 0.90 m.

¹ G. Patroni, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

² The indentations being hardly sufficient to allow of a foothold, a wooden ladder had thoughtfully been prepared for the descent.

At the bottom of the shaft a single sepulchre chamber was cut out of the solid sandstone rock on one side, the entrance to the chamber being formed by an opening 1.43 m. in height by 0.70 m. in width, the chamber itself measuring 2.40 m. in length, 1.96 m. in width, and 1.84 m. in height. No slab of stone was found placed in front of the approach to the chamber.

The contents of this tomb were such as to leave little doubt that the sepulchre had been previously visited and its furniture rifled, for, with the exception of the bones of what would seem to have formed three skeletons, nothing was found in it but some ordinary *unguentaria* of small size and a few sherds of a better-class pottery.

A hole made laterally in the rock at the bottom of the shaft of this sepulchre revealed the existence of another tomb chamber in close proximity.

As at Carthage, there seems to be considerable variety in the tombs of the Lilybæum necropolis, some having but a single sepulchral chamber, while others have two and even three such chambers.¹

In its burial arrangements, as in other matters of public interest affecting the town, Lilybæum will no doubt have followed the example of Carthage to a great extent, and it is therefore not surprising that a considerable similarity should be found between the cemeteries of the two cities. The rocky land immediately adjoining Lilybæum apparently resembled that surrounding Carthage, and allowed of the subterranean interment so popular with the Phœnicians, when possible. Although, as already stated, but little has so far been done in the way of excavating at Lilybæum, that little is sufficient to show the affinity between the cemeteries and the burial rites and practices of the older and younger Punic cities. Naturally, the tombs found at Lilybæum will have more in

¹ MM. Merlin et Drappier (*La nécropole punique d'Ard-el-Kheraib à Carthage*, 1909) give some interesting particulars regarding the sepulchre chambers in the Punic necropolis of Ard-el-Kheraib at Carthage, together with an excellent plan, showing the different positions in which the chambers are found in the wells or shafts. Punic shaft-tombs appear also to have been found in considerable number at Malta and Gozo. They resemble more or less those found at Carthage and Lilybæum, and probably date from the same period.

common with those of a corresponding date than with those of the earlier cemeteries at Carthage.¹

Although a comparison between the hypogea of the earlier burial-grounds at Carthage, such as those of Douimès and Dermech, and our early incineration tombs at Motya is hardly possible, it is nevertheless interesting to note the analogy, and, in some cases, the absolute identity, which seems to exist between the pottery found in the two. The exact counterparts of some of the types of vases met with in the earlier Carthaginian tombs are to be found at Motya. The date of the early necropolis of Douimès at Carthage is supposed to have been between the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., extending possibly into the fifth century;² while our early Motyan incineration cemetery, although no doubt somewhat older, probably continued in use until the middle or even the end of the seventh century B.C.

Naturally, some difference exists between the material found in the Carthaginian and Motyan burial-grounds, and the analogy between the two is not always absolutely maintained. Thus, for instance, the globular-shaped urns, for holding cremated remains, commonly met with at Motya, are lacking at Carthage; while, on the other hand, the lamps and perfume-burners met with in the tombs of the latter are wanting in those of the former. This, however, may be explained by the fact that the specially fashioned cinerary urns of Motya were not needed for the inhumation burials of Carthage; while, on the other hand, there was no *raison d'être* for lamps and perfume-burners in the Motyan cemeteries, where no sepulchral chambers were possible.

As already stated in the earlier part of this chapter, the portion

¹ To Père Delattre of the *Pères Blancs* we are indebted for much valuable knowledge and information concerning the Carthage burial-grounds. Thanks to the indefatigable and painstaking researches that have been carried out by him during the past quarter of a century, a large number of the tombs of those cemeteries have been brought to light, and the rich material that has been found in them has greatly enhanced the interest of the already celebrated Lavignerie Museum of St Louis at Carthage. Prior to Père Delattre's researches comparatively little appears to have been known regarding the burial-grounds of Carthage, but we are now enabled to compare the contents of the older with those of the later Punic tombs, extending down to Roman times, and this is of the highest interest.

² R. P. Delattre, *op. cit.*, janvier 1888, p. 5.

of the recently discovered Motyan cemetery which has been brought to light lies outside the old fortification wall of the city, and occupies the tract of land between it and the sea-shore. The enceinte wall on this side of the island stands back from the shore much further than it does in other parts, where, in many cases, it rises almost immediately from the water's edge.

How far the burial-ground may extend inland, or on the inside of the wall, remains to be ascertained, as it also remains to be seen whether it extends any further on either side of the portion so far exposed, either in an easterly or westerly direction.

Little or no system appears to have been observed in this necropolis with regard to the actual burial of the dead, the choice of the site as well as that of the description of the tomb having apparently been left entirely to the relatives of the deceased. Thus, not only does one meet with a great variety in the tombs themselves, but one finds these placed at varying distances apart from each other and at different depths in the soil or rocky ground.

The irregularity in the surface of the ground in this spot is no doubt responsible in great measure for this. Certainly, at first sight, one is led to think that there must have been more than a single stratum, or course, of tombs, especially as, in two or three instances, tombs have been found lying immediately above and below each other. These cases, however, are exceptional, and cannot be taken as furnishing evidence of the existence of two distinct strata of tombs belonging to different periods.

An occasional *stele* may still be met with in this cemetery, standing *in situ* above its tomb, but by far the greater part of the tombs are found without *stelæ*, these having probably been removed in years gone by. Many such *stelæ*, or tombstones, have been discovered lying in the immediate neighbourhood, and others are to be found among the material forming the rough walls raised by the peasants around the fields in the vicinity.

With but few exceptions the *stelæ* found here are extremely rude and simple, being formed by small upright blocks of roughly hewn sandstone, measuring, as a rule, from 25 to 35 cm. in height, 15 to 25 cm. in width, and about the same in depth, and with lines engraved or scratched upon them—a linear representa-

tion, perhaps, of the *ædes* or sacred building. A few *stelæ* have been met with showing *bætyli*, either single or double, but none, so far, with the triple *bætylus*, as not infrequently met with in Sardinia, nor have any been found with inscriptions on them.¹

Until quite recently no *stelæ* had been found at Motya resembling the figured and ornamented *stelæ* that have been discovered in considerable quantity at Carthage, in Sardinia, and elsewhere; but some have now been met with in the recently discovered burial-ground which we think may have served for the interment of sacrificial offerings. Among them are some bearing the representation of deities and the emblem of the disk and crescent.²

The tombs containing the cremated remains of the dead are formed either by terracotta *ollæ* and *amphoræ* of a fairly large size, or by box-shaped coffins, varying considerably in their size as well as in their construction, being in some cases hollowed out of a single block of sandstone, in others made up of rough stone slabs, loosely put together and covered with another slab. The first-mentioned form, or that consisting of terracotta vases, predominates somewhat in number.

The possibility has been suggested of the stone-chest tombs having served exclusively for the burial of males, and those with vases for that of females, but this cannot have been the case, for the former are occasionally found with articles of female ornamentation in them, while the latter at times, though rarely, contain arms and weapons of warfare.

A solitary case has been met with in this cemetery of the

¹ The worship of *bætyli*, or sacred stones, personifying deities, formed an important feature of the Phœnician religion, and the representation of the god, or even of the home of the god, was revered as the god itself. So it was even in the earliest times, when mountains and their grottoes, and rivers and their springs, all had their own deities, but came to be worshipped as divinities themselves.

The word *bætylus* is derived from the Greek *βαίτυλος*, which, in its turn, comes from the Hebrew *Beth-el*, or "the house of the god."

² It is difficult to say with any degree of certainty what this emblem, so frequently met with in Phœnician decorative art, really represents. It may perhaps represent the moon in two of its phases, or possibly the disk may stand for the sun. Or, again, the disk may perhaps represent the earth, or some other astral body of which Astarte was the goddess as well as of the moon. The moon-goddess was looked upon as Nature herself, and the encircling crescent might be intended to represent her in the character of protector and guardian of the universe.

uncremated remains of an infant being found in a vase. Further reference to this will be found at the end of this chapter.

In a few instances burials are found lacking the central cinerary urn, and with only the smaller accessory vessels in them, the cremated remains, in these cases, being placed in a slight hollow made in the ground. An example of such a burial is shown further on in this chapter.

Both the burials formed by vases and the stone coffins at Motya are placed in *loculi*, or holes dug in the soil, or in cavities hollowed out of the rock, should this happen to occur in the spot selected for the tomb, and, as a rule, they are at no great depth below the surface of the ground. In either case they are nearly always to be found accompanied by several smaller terracotta vessels of different shapes, placed around them,¹ and instances of the latter being wanting are rare.

These smaller vessels placed around the central urns or coffins holding the remains of the dead are, by many authorities, supposed to have contained nourishment, both solid and liquid, for the departed, and there can be no doubt that the custom of providing food and drink for the dead existed, and in some countries continued always to be practised, though in others the custom may, after a while, have come to be looked upon as a mere formality, and eventually have ended in empty vessels being placed in the tombs, vessels which may perhaps have been used by the deceased during lifetime.

In one case only among the numerous vases preserved in the Motya Museum has any substance been found which might be supposed to have been food of some kind. The vase in question is a *tazza* from Lilybæum, and its contents, which looked like dry honey, proved on analysis to be composed of phosphorus and carbonate of lime, with slight traces of iron. According to Dennis,² among the pottery preserved in the former Salnitrian Museum of Palermo, a portion of which was, after 1860, incorporated into the present National Museum of this town, a figured platter existed,

¹ In one case only, so far, has a stone-coffin tomb been found with the subsidiary vases placed *inside* it.

² G. Dennis, *Murray's Handbook for Sicily*, 1864.

on which were distinctly to be seen, incrustated upon it, the vertebræ of some species of fish. Dennis considers these remains to have been "the vestiges of a funeral feast," but, supposing the platter to have been found in a tomb, it may more probably have been placed there purposely with food in it for the dead. Another case of a plate with the remains of fish still adhering to it appears to have been met with at Tharros, in Sardinia (*cf.* Patroni, *Nora*, p. 95).

In tombs at Carthage vases have been found which show clear signs of having once contained liquids, while others are to be seen carefully stoppered at the mouth with plugs of clay, undoubtedly with a view of preventing an escape of their contents.¹

So far, apparently, no Phœnician tombs have been met with in Syria containing, or showing signs of having once contained, food-stuffs or liquids, though the custom of providing such nourishment for the dead seems to have been a common one in Egypt and Chaldæa.²

That the belief in a future life, together with the cult of the dead, existed in Syria, however, appears undoubted; and, although prohibited among the Jews, this cult seems to have been followed by them also to a certain extent.³ The inscription on the celebrated Eshmounazar sarcophagus, now preserved in the Louvre Museum in Paris, shows what a dread the Phœnicians had of their remains being disturbed after death, and points to their belief in a future existence.

The central vases, or cinerary urns, found at Motya are of

¹ R. P. Delattre, *op. cit.*, avril-juin 1898.

² Nothing, perhaps, can surpass the preparation and provision made for the comfort and well-being of the departed which is displayed in a sepulchre recently discovered near Thebes, where, in addition to the mummified bodies of its occupants, enclosed in sumptuous cases, may be seen an entire suite of household furniture, together with a most copious supply of all kinds of food and drink, sufficient for months, if not years! In addition to the many barrels of preserved and salted meats of various kinds, together with bread and other vegetable food in abundance, was found a collection of marvellously well-preserved papyrus manuscripts.

This wonderful tomb, which was discovered by the Italian Archæological Mission, under the patronage of the King of Italy, at Devi-el-Medinet, near Thebes, on the 16th January 1906, purports to be the last resting-place of Kha, superintendent of the Theban necropolis works, and of his wife, Mirit, and is apparently referable to the sixteenth century B.C. It is now preserved in the Egyptian department of the Archæological Museum at Turin.

³ *Cf.* Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, iii. 140 *seq.*; Deuteronomy xxvi. 14.

various types, differing somewhat among themselves in size and shape, as well as in coloration and decoration, the latter, indeed, in some instances, being totally absent. Even when such ornamentation is found, it is usually confined to a few lines of a dark red or blackish colour painted round the belly and neck of the vase, supplemented, in some cases, by a simple geometrical design. The painting of these vases is, however, not always limited to a linear ornamentation or geometrical designs alone, but in some cases extends to the ground of the vase as well.

Geometrical decoration on terracotta was probably introduced into Phœnicia from Assyria, where the practice appears to have been a common one. Unfortunately, but little remains to us, at the present day, of any pottery in Phœnicia proper which might afford enlightenment on this subject and as to the ceramic industry of that country generally; but apparently the few specimens or fragments of pottery which have been obtained from Syria, and which may perhaps justly be ascribed to the Phœnicians, are invariably decorated after the earliest geometrical principles.¹

Much more of this geometric pottery has, however, been obtained from some of the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean, such as Cyprus, Rhodes, Thera, and others, with which the Phœnicians had constant dealings, and a good deal of this ware was undoubtedly carried by the Canaanite traders to other parts of the Mediterranean.

Examples from Cyprus, without being identical, bear a certain resemblance to our Motyan pottery, as do also some specimens from the earlier Sicilian tombs.

The pottery found in the early Sicilian tombs is of sufficient interest to justify a short digression being made here, in order to state what has, so far, been ascertained concerning it by archaeological exploration, and to say a few words regarding geometrically decorated pottery in general.

The greater part of our knowledge and information regarding the pottery of this class found in Sicily is undoubtedly due to Professor Paolo Orsi, whose indefatigable and painstaking research in the more eastern provinces of the island has been of the greatest

¹ Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, iii. 672 *seq.*

service to archæology in general, and specially to the study of the particular branch of ceramic industrial art commonly known as the *geometrico-siculo*, of which little of a positive nature had previously been recorded.

The chief burial-grounds of the above districts of Sicily which have been explored appear to be those of Melilli, Castelluccio, Monte Talbuto, Cozzo-Pantano, Plemmirio, Thapsos, Pantalica, Cassibili, Monte Finocchito, Licodia Eubea, and Lentini.

The result of the work which has been carried out there may briefly be said to show that the pottery of the Siculi of the first period, or of the Siculi and the Sicani, was mainly formed by a rude quality of ware of brilliant colouring, called by Orsi *geometrico-empetico*, which excited the curiosity of archæologists, as emanating from a people but hardly eneolithic.

That the principle of geometric decoration was *ab origine* of spontaneous birth among the early inhabitants of Sicily is quite possible, for it is not unnatural to imagine that such a simple form of ornamentation as that constituted by lines, whether straight or curved, should have suggested itself to them in the same way as it probably did to Oriental peoples, or to those of such widely separated countries as Peru and Mexico.

The somewhat rude pottery of the first period appears to have been followed in the second Siculan period by a different type of ware, of new shapes, and but slightly decorated, after which ensued a lengthy period, extending over more than two centuries, during which little or no progress seems to have been made by the Sicilian potter in ceramic art.

Towards the close of the second Siculan period a certain sign of some development appears to have occurred, as shown by a singular vase, found at Pantalica, which might perhaps be looked upon as forming a connecting link between the ware of the first and second Siculan periods and that of the third and fourth periods; but it was not until well on in the third period that the true *geometrico-siculo* pottery, always wheel-turned, and decorated with unglazed colours, apparently came into general use and, extending into the fourth period, gradually and no doubt through exterior

influence, if not actual workmanship, became more developed and perfected.

During the two latter periods, although this pottery no doubt continued to be manufactured locally in considerable quantity, judging from examples of a superior description found in Sicily, one may suppose a certain quantity of this more highly developed ware to have been imported from abroad.

Professor Orsi considers that the development in the Sicilian geometric pottery was probably due to Greek influence, and that the more advanced ware of the later Sicilian periods was evolved out of a combination of the indigenous with an exterior art, introduced into Sicily by the early Greek colonists.

Strange to say, however, next to no traces of this pottery have been found on any of the sites of the Greek cities of Eastern Sicily, nor can the development in its character be satisfactorily accounted for by supposing this particular class of pottery to have been manufactured by Greek potters and artisans solely and exclusively for sale to the Siculi.

That the improvement in this ware might date from a period prior to the advent of the first Greek colonists in Sicily is, however, quite possible, not to say probable; and, although we have no evidence to that effect, it may perhaps have been due to chance Greek traders who may have visited Sicily before the true Hellenic settlements were effected in that island, or, possibly, to Greek influence through Cumæ.

The question, however, which¹ here presents itself is whether it is not far more probable that the people, or traders, who first introduced this more highly developed pottery into Sicily were the Phœnicians, who, as we are told by Thucydides, were living in the island, for the purpose of trading with the Siculi, previous to the coming of the Greeks, and who, we have ventured to think, must have arrived in Sicily at some period between the eleventh and the ninth century before Christ.¹

The Phœnicians are supposed to have copied the Assyrians in the manufacture of geometrically decorated pottery, and they are also supposed to have produced large quantities of this ware

¹ *Vide ante*, Part I., Chapter IV.

for commercial purposes, distributing it, by means of their numerous trading vessels, throughout the many countries with which they trafficked, even beyond the Mediterranean.¹

Foremost among the recipients of this Phœnician pottery will doubtless have been the inhabitants of the principal islands of the Eastern Mediterranean, so near the Syrian coast, who, in their turn, will have copied the Phœnicians, and eventually, under the influence of a superior Greek art, will probably have outstripped their teachers in the excellence of their ceramic production.

Whether the Phœnician traders will have carried their own products, or those of the Eastern Mediterranean islands with which they dealt, or both, to the more distant countries further west, and to Sicily among others, is immaterial. The main point is that it seems highly probable that it was through the medium of those traders that Sicily first received pottery of a more advanced style of art, and with it an impulse and incitement to the improvement of its local manufactures.

This would not, in the least degree, tend to alter the opinion one is led to entertain as to the Siculi having, particularly in their later periods, been greatly affected generally by Hellenic influence.

The fact of geometrically decorated pottery being found so plentifully in Sicily and not in many other Mediterranean sites with which the Phœnicians are supposed to have traded may be accounted for by concluding that the latter were visited at a somewhat later period, and then, perhaps, by Carthaginians and not by the older Phœnicians. Geometric pottery undoubtedly belonged to the old Phœnician days and not to the later Punic period. Thus, it is only in the older tombs at Carthage, and not in the later ones, that some of this ware is found, while, apparently, none has so far been forthcoming in Sardinia, Malta, and other smaller islands where Punic pottery is abundant, but where traces of the older Phœnicians are either few or entirely absent. At Motya, where this pottery has been found in certain abundance, it is, however, only in the older necropolis on the island itself, which was probably not in use after the middle or end of the seventh century B.C., that it has been met with. In the late Motya necropolis at Birgi,

¹ Strabo, bk. III. v. § 11; Scylax, *Periplus*, § 112.

on the mainland, it is not to be found at all, nor is any of it to be found at Lilybæum, founded after the fall of Motya.

Geometrically decorated pottery, indeed, after having lived a long life and died hard, seems to have disappeared entirely by the middle of the fifth century B.C.

The cinerary urns of Motya are generally found with a terracotta lid covering the mouth, this lid being often formed by a small saucer or platter, or, failing this, with a fragment of broken pottery, or at times with a small stone slab.

The small subsidiary or supplementary vases placed in the tombs around the central urns are usually about half a dozen in number, though the number varies considerably, and as many as eleven have been found in one tomb, while occasionally only two or three occur. This is apparently contrary to what has been observed in the tombs of the earlier cemeteries at Carthage, such as that of Douimès, where a fixed or regulation number and type of vases is nearly always to be met with.¹ At the same time it must be admitted that a certain ritual appears to have been observed in our early Motyan necropolis, for most of the tombs contain a mushroom-topped vase, a pear-shaped vase, one or two round pots, and one or two small, wide-mouthed bowls.

In some of the Punic tombs found at Malta, which are no doubt of a later date than our Motyan cemetery, a fixed ritual, with a determined number and type of funeral vases, appears to have been observed.²

In composition and workmanship the smaller vases found at Motya resemble the large central urns, though they are more often, perhaps, to be found perfectly plain and without ornamentation than the latter are.

These smaller vases are, for the most part, jugs and pitchers for holding liquids, such as *ænochoi*, *olpai*, and *aryballoi*, or round bowls and platters suitable for either liquids or solid food, many of them being of primitive designs and uncommon.

The earthenware of which these vases, both the larger central

¹ Cf. R. P. Delattre, *op. cit.*, avril-juin 1898, p. 28.

² Zammit, *Report, Valetta Museum at Malta*, 1913-14, p. 5.

urns as well as the smaller vessels, are composed is either of a brick-red or of a dull yellowish or whitish colour and is unglazed.

Whether this pottery was produced on the island itself, or whether it was imported, has not yet been positively ascertained; but as some of the vases are of types, so far as we know, not met with elsewhere, and others of types only to be found also at Carthage,¹ and occasionally, though rarely, in Sardinia,² there is reason to think it may have been of local or indigenous manufacture. The fact of identical examples of some of the types having been met with at Carthage would not necessarily imply that Motya imported this pottery from that great mart; indeed, it may have been the contrary, and Motya may instead have supplied Carthage with this particular ware. In support of this latter theory, it may be observed that, as already stated, the pottery in question has only been met with in the earlier Punic cemeteries, and not in the later ones which were in use after the fall and disappearance of Motya.

That the long cylindrical amphoræ were made at Motya has been proved by the abundant remains of such vessels, in various stages of manufacture, that have been met with in the vicinity of a baking kiln near the north gateway,³ and there can be no reason to doubt that other terracotta ware of a similar ordinary description was also produced there. Such eminently useful pottery, after all, was of a class which it is easy to understand the practical-minded Phœnician settler would look upon as most worthy of production.

Whether Motyan ceramic industry extended still further and embraced also the manufacture of a superior class of terracotta or glazed pottery has not yet been proved, though it is quite possible that such may have been the case.

Black-glazed pottery appears to have been plentiful at Motya in its later days, but this may have been imported from south continental Italy, where this ware was abundantly manufactured. With but a single exception, and this not well authenticated, no

¹ Cf. R. P. Delattre, *Carthage: La nécropole punique de Douimès*, pp. 13, 14, figs. 21 and 24.

² G. Patroni, *Nora*, p. 92, plates xiv. and xv. ³ *Vide ante*, Part II., Chapter IV.

Greek figured vases have been found in the cremation tombs here. In several of the tombs, however, proto-Corinthian vases have been found, thus enabling us to affirm that this necropolis must have been in use between 750 and 650 B.C. The fact of such finer-class ware being found at Motya, more or less abundantly, is an additional proof of the intercourse which must have existed between this island and Greek Sicily, as well probably as with Magna Græcia and other still more distant countries. As in the case of Sardinia, it is not unlikely that a good deal of the pottery found at Motya, and in the rest of Sicily generally, will have been imported from Campania by means of Phœnician or Siculo-Phœnician trading ships.¹

In many of the tombs of this necropolis, both in those formed by urns as well as in the stone coffins, in addition to the bones and ashes of the dead, may be found articles of jewellery, such as bracelets, earrings, rings, often with scarabs in them, and necklace beads, as also amulets and charms of various kinds—articles which doubtless belonged to the deceased.

Fragments of ostrich egg-shells, with a design inscribed on them in red pigment, have also been met with. No jewellery or other articles are found in the smaller supplementary vases.

Weapons and fragments of arms, such as spear- and lance-heads, daggers and knives, no doubt the favourite arms of the deceased, are found in some of the stone box-shaped tombs, or placed in the loose soil by the side of urns, which probably contained the remains of warriors.

This appears to be contrary to what has been observed in old Phœnicia, and particularly in the case of the celebrated necropolis of Sidon, where not a single weapon, or even the fragment of one, has been met with.²

No statuettes or figures in terracotta appear, so far, to have been met with in the early Motyan necropolis.

In a few of the Motyan tombs, tombs which presumably belong to the earliest period of this necropolis, rough hand-made vases, unfashioned by the turning-wheel, have been found, as also pieces of worked flint, obsidian, fragments of stags' antlers, the skulls

¹ Cf. G. Patroni, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

² Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, iii. 205.

and bones of certain species of birds and small mammals, and perforated sea-shells—relics, no doubt, of a prehistoric past.

The fact of such primitive articles occurring in this Motyan burial-ground is highly interesting, suggesting, as it does, not only the possibility of an immediate and uninterrupted succession on the part of the Phœnician settlers to the earlier inhabitants of the island, whoever they may have been, but pointing also to the possibility of intercourse and even friendly relations having existed between the two peoples.

It may be mentioned here that evidence of prehistoric dwellings appears to have been met with on the neighbouring small islet of Santa Maria,¹ as well as on the opposite mainland coast, in the district known by the name of Infersa. In the latter district close to the sea-shore, the remains have been found of what would seem to have formed the floor of a hut or cave-dwelling, among the debris of which were discovered fragments of ancient pottery, pieces of obsidian, and the bones of various animals. The cave-dwellers, as we know, subsisted to a great extent on game and fish, especially shell-fish, and their habitations were consequently most frequently to be found on the sea-shore and the borders of lakes.

Apparently there was no crematorium, or *ustrinum*, specially appointed for the burning of the dead at Motya, the funeral pyre having probably been raised *in situ* on the burial-ground, wherever it may have been deemed most convenient for the purpose. Here and there, in various parts of the necropolis, signs of the *rogum* having taken place on the spot may be seen, the ground being covered with the remains of charred wood and calcined bones. Occasionally pieces of charcoal are to be found actually in the tombs themselves, but these have probably been placed there purposely as disinfectants.

Reviewed as a whole, the contents of the Motyan tombs, apart from the unglazed pottery which we have assumed to be of local manufacture, may be said to show considerable affinity with the material that has been found in some of the early Sicilian necropoles,

¹ Cf. A. Holm, *op. cit.*, Appendix, "Prehistoric Age."

and in some cases, as observed by Professor Pace,¹ it would appear to be absolutely identical with it. The articles of jewellery, amulets and charms, the glass-paste ware and other objects presumably of Oriental manufacture, as also the proto-Corinthian terracotta vases, are the same as those found at Fusco, near Syracuse, at Megara-Hyblæa, and at Pozzo di Gotto, near Messina.² At the last-named place a case of cremation appears to have been met with by Professor Orsi, the only one discovered by him during many years of research among these early necropolises.

The cremation tombs that have so far been discovered and examined in the Motya necropolis are about two hundred in number. The sarcophagi are only seven in number, and are to be found all near one another at the western extremity of the burial-ground. These sarcophagi are all of sandstone, roughly worked and unornamented. To judge from their condition when discovered, and from their contents, there is no doubt that they must have been previously visited and their contents rifled, either entirely or in part.

A detailed description will be given at the conclusion of this chapter, both of these sarcophagi as well as of those found near the north gateway, and of some of the cremation tombs.

Meanwhile, and before proceeding to speak of the later Motyan necropolis at Birgi, on the mainland, it may safely be observed, without fear of contradiction, that the ancient burial-ground which has been found at Motya forms one of the most important and interesting discoveries that has yet been made in connection with the Phœnician settlement in Sicily.

It is one of the few monumental relics remaining to us of the early Phœnician colonists, of those independent Phœnicians who visited and lived in Sicily, not only before Carthage assumed her sway over her kinsmen in that island, but probably before Carthage was even in existence, and, considering how scanty such relics are, the value of this discovery cannot be over-estimated.

¹ Cf. Professor B. Pace, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

² Cf. Professor P. Orsi, "Necropoli del Fusco," in *Notizie di Scavi*, 1893 and 1895; "Megara-Hyblæa," in *Monumenti Ant. dei Lincei*, i.; *Necropoli Sicula a Pozzo di Gotto, Castoreale (Messina)*, 1915.

As pointed out earlier in this chapter, this ancient cemetery would seem to furnish an indication, if not actual evidence, of an uninterrupted succession of the Phœnicians to the older inhabitants of Sicily, of whom so little is known, and to form, as it were, a connecting link between the two peoples, suggesting also, as it does, the possibility of intercourse having existed between them.

Chronologically, this necropolis, when it has been more fully explored and the contents of its tombs have been more carefully worked out, may yield some further important data, and throw interesting light on various questions or problems relating to the life-history of the Phœnicians in Sicily. Meanwhile, what has already been found at Motya is sufficient to show that, contrary to the opinion entertained by some writers, Phœnician commercial enterprise and activity in Sicily must, at one time, have been by no means inconsiderable, and probably extended to the greater part of the island.

Whether this activity was greatly developed prior to the advent of the Greeks in Sicily it is difficult to say; probably it was not so, and may indeed, in those early days, have been but in its infancy. Be this as it may, however, the main argument that has been brought forward against the importance of Phœnician commercial activity in Sicily, viz. the absence or scarcity in the older Sicilian burial-grounds of articles unquestionably attributable to Phœnician industry or trading, even admitting it to be true to a certain extent, can hardly be considered conclusive or convincing, seeing that, with the exception, perhaps, of metal-work, Phœnician exports to Sicily will probably have consisted merely of perishable articles, which will have left no trace behind them.¹

With regard to metal-work, moreover, how few of the sites indisputably recognised as having been Phœnician settlements or trading stations show such remains at the present day! Even at Motya, notwithstanding the many centuries that it continued in existence as a flourishing city, comparatively little now remains of any such metal-work. One may go even still further and say, how little has been found in Phœnicia itself!

On the other hand, in much of what has been found at Motya,

¹ Cf. Prof. G. M. Columba, *op. cit.*, p. 8 *seqq.*; Prof. B. Pace, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

as well as in some of the early Sicilian cemeteries, in those articles of undoubted Oriental types and probably of actual Oriental manufacture which have been found in the tombs, we have an all but certain proof of the commerce which must, at one time, have existed between this island and other parts of the Mediterranean, a commerce which can only have been carried on by the Phœnicians, thus bearing out Thucydides' statement with regard to the Phœnicians having occupied stations around the whole of the Sicilian coast for the purpose of trading.¹

THE NECROPOLIS AT BIRGI

As already stated in the earlier part of this chapter, the Birgi necropolis must undoubtedly have come into use at some period of the history of Motya when, owing to the growth and expansion of the city, it became advisable, if not absolutely necessary, that the cramped island cemetery should be abandoned and a new and larger burial-ground formed elsewhere.

This change could only have been carried out by resorting to the mainland, while the advantages offered by the particular district of Birgi were probably deemed such as to determine its selection as the site of the new necropolis. Birgi, although not the nearest point on the mainland, apart from the fact of offering a wide and level expanse of territory, probably at that time either entirely unpopulated or only sparsely inhabited, and most suitable for the purpose, also possessed an additional great advantage. The tract of sea between it and the island of Motya was presumably, in the old days, as now, shallower than elsewhere, thus rendering the construction of a road across it a comparatively easy undertaking. For all we know, a road across the shallows may actually have existed at the time when the change of cemeteries was effected; but, in any case, there can be no doubt that the great importance of having direct communication with their burial-ground cannot have failed to be recognised by the Motyans, and, if not already in existence at the time, we may be sure the road will then at once have been constructed.

¹ Thucydides, vi. 2.

That the new site must have proved all that could have been desired for the purpose may be presumed from the fact of this necropolis having apparently continued to be used, without interruption, from the time of the abandonment of the older island cemetery down to the destruction and fall of Motya.

In a preceding chapter,¹ when speaking of past archæological research at Motya, allusion has been made to this necropolis as having, together with the fortifications and other monumental ruins of the island itself, furnished evidence of the pre-existence of a large and important city in the neighbourhood.

Such evidence was supplied by the numerous remains of tombs that had, from time to time, been brought to light by the peasants of the district when engaged in agricultural work, and especially when preparing the deep holes required for the planting of vines.²

No attempt, however, appears to have ever been made in the past, either by systematic excavation or by exploration of any kind, to ascertain more concerning this ancient burial-ground, though its site, like that of Motya itself, seems to have been visited occasionally by archæologists and tourists.

It has only been recently that any research on systematic lines has been carried out here, excavations having been made by the author; with the assistance of Professor Salinas and Signor Lipari, between the years 1908 and 1913, in three different spots which had been previously untouched by the labourer's pick and shovel. This work extended over a period of several months, during which time a considerable number of tombs were brought to light and their contents carefully examined. The area covered by the zone of recent research, however, is but insignificant in comparison with that of the land, now occupied by vineyards, on which tombs, in considerable number, have been found in the past.

The area and boundaries of this extensive tract of land, for-

¹ *Vide ante*, Part II., Chapter I.

² In the hamlets of this district it is by no means unusual to meet with a sarcophagus serving the purpose of a drinking-trough, or of a washing-tub, or, turned upside down, that of a seat. Nearly every family has its own wash-tub, or *pila*, as it is called in Sicily; and a sarcophagus with a hole bored in it forms an excellent and economical substitute for the specially made stone or wooden trough generally used.

merly occupied by the old cemetery, are based on information received from the landowners and peasants of the district, controlled, and supplemented to a certain extent, by subsequent local investigation.

In addition to the not inconsiderable area which is marked in the map of the district as the site of the main necropolis at Birgi, a smaller detached burial-ground would appear to have existed somewhat further to the eastward, and it is not improbable that other similar isolated graveyards may be found elsewhere in the district.

As stated in the earlier part of this chapter, while the tombs at Motya itself are nearly all on the principle of cremation, with but few sarcophagi, those at Birgi, on the contrary, are almost exclusively inhumation tombs, cinerary urns, with cremated remains, being met with but rarely.

Presumably the earliest tombs of this necropolis are those which have been found in the immediate vicinity of the sea-shore, facing Motya, later burials having probably been effected further inland, as the necropolis grew in size. The few tombs containing cremated remains which have been met with in this cemetery seem mostly to have been found in the neighbourhood of the shore. In some spots, where the low banks along the shore-line have crumbled away in part, sarcophagi and an occasional urn may be seen embedded in the friable rock or tufa which forms the subsoil of this district. As at Motya, the character of the subsoil at Birgi must have determined the form of burial adopted, and precluded interment in subterranean sepulchre chambers, as found in most Phœnician and Punic burial-grounds.

Owing to the fact of the surface of the ground being more level here than at Motya, somewhat more order and system seems to have prevailed in the disposition of the tombs than is the case in the island necropolis. There does not, however, appear to have been any rule at Birgi with regard to the orientation of the tombs, some being found with the head and foot facing east and west, while others point north and south (fig. 28). In one spot on the coast, opposite Motya, however, the tombs are all placed uniformly north and south. The few sarcophagi which

have been found on the island itself seem to have been placed, as a rule, east and west.

In many instances sarcophagi are found placed one on top of another, and occasionally as many as three tombs have been found thus placed, the lower ones, in some cases, being without lids of their own, their only covering being formed by the overlying tomb.

As economy of space can certainly not have been a consideration in the case of the mainland cemetery, as it was in that of the island necropolis, with its restricted confines, one must conclude that this piling of tombs above each other was either for the object of saving labour, or, as seems more probable, supposing the tombs to have been of members of the same family, that it was due to a not unnatural feeling of sentiment regarding unity, even after death.

This leads to a consideration of the question as to the possibility of the larger sarcophagi found in these ancient burial-grounds having served as family tombs, or vaults, for the reception of more than one body. The mere fact of the remains of several bodies being found in a tomb would not, of course, of itself alone suffice to prove this, for, as we have surmised may have occurred in the case of the sarcophagi found near the north gate at Motya,¹ circumstances may have arisen necessitating the burial of two or more corpses in a single tomb.

So far as our Birgi necropolis is concerned, against the theory of these large sarcophagi having served as family tombs is the fact that none of the number so far met with has been found to contain the remains of more than a single body.

An additional argument, moreover, against the theory may be adduced from the fact of sepulchral epitaphs having been found, enjoining that no other bodies be placed in the tombs. One such epitaph, one of the only two inscriptions so far found in the Birgi necropolis, contains an injunction to this very effect.

Of these large sarcophagi a good many have been met with in the Birgi necropolis, the largest so far recorded measuring as much as 3.30 m. in length, 1 m. in width, and 1.20 m. in depth.²

¹ *Vide ante*, Part II., Chapter IV.

² Schubring, *op. cit.*, p. 62.



FIG. 28.—Group of sarcophagi at Birgi.

Another, almost as large, which is preserved at Motya, measures externally 2.80 m. in length, 1 m. in width, and 1.20 m. in depth, and internally 2.35 m. in length, 0.55 m. in width, and 0.90 m. in depth. This sarcophagus is formed of well-worked slabs of sandstone, 20 to 25 cm. thick, put together, say, two on each side, one at the head and one at the foot, its cover being formed by a single slab of unworked stone, possibly not the original cover (fig. 29).

Sarcophagi of large size, both marble and sandstone, have been met with at Carthage, and more recently at Utica, where in 1906



FIG. 29.—A large sarcophagus from Birgi.

several such large sarcophagi, all composed of sandstone, whether monoliths or made up of separate slabs, were brought to light in a necropolis discovered by Comte Chabannes. Contrary to what obtains at Carthage, but as at Birgi, no system appears to have been observed in the orientation of these Utica tombs.¹

Nothing has been met with at Birgi, nor, so far as we know, at Lilybæum, in any way approaching what may be called the wholesale or massed burial which has been shown to have existed at Carthage, where numerous skeletons have been found together in the same sepulchral chamber. In one case cited by Père Delattre,²

¹ R. P. Delattre, *op. cit.*, juillet-décembre, 1898, p. 7; *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, Paris, 1906, p. 60.

² *Id.*, *La Nécropole des Rabs à Carthage*, 1905, pp. 27-29.

about forty human skeletons were discovered, together with the remains of some animals, apparently dogs.

Judging from the remains of the dead found in this chamber, and from other indications, Père Delattre is of opinion that two out of the number buried must have been people of a certain age and importance, the others being nearly all young, and some even of a tender age.

The contents of this tomb, as observed by him, are suggestive of one of those cruel hecatombs apparently still not uncommon among the savage tribes in some parts of Africa, on the death of a native ruler or chief.

Among the mass of bones found on this occasion were two fine Phœnician inscriptions, or epitaphs, one recording a man and the other a woman, the former also stating that the tomb had been made by order of Cabdashtoreth the Aronadite. According to M. Ph. Berger,¹ this is the first allusion to the old Phœnician coast town of Arvad or Aradus that has been met with in any Phœnician inscription, and it is doubly interesting, showing, as it does, that Carthage kept up her relations with the mother-country.

Returning to our Birgi sarcophagi, it may be said that, like those met with at Motya, they are mostly composed of sandstone, which was no doubt obtained from the quarries further inland, and are of simple construction and workmanship, showing no sign of any ornamentation, even of the plainest nature. Whether monoliths, hewn out of solid blocks, or formed of slabs of stone joined together, they are all thus unornamented, the lids which cover them being also without decoration of any kind.

Seeing that most of the sarcophagi met with at Motya itself, as well as those found near or adjoining the sea-shore of the Birgi district, are either hollowed out of single solid blocks or out of two pieces, one may venture to think that this was the earlier form of stone coffin used here, and that those made up of several separate slabs were adopted later on, in consequence of the larger-sized tombs coming into use, and probably because of a difficulty in procuring material large enough for the purpose required.

Some of the sarcophagi found at Birgi have shallow troughs or

¹ R. P. Delattre, *op. cit.*, 1905, p. 29.

depressions hollowed out at their lower corners or angles. The object of these cavities does not appear quite clear, but it may have been for the purpose of holding vases or other articles, or perhaps merely for collecting the water or moisture that might accumulate at the bottom of the tombs.

Though the Birgi tombs appear to have been invariably composed of ordinary stone and are of simple workmanship, without any ornamentation, in the vicinity of Marsala, the site of ancient Lilybæum, sarcophagi of a superior and more elaborate description, both of marble and of terracotta, have been met with from time to time.

One of the latter, a terracotta anthropoid sarcophagus, with a particularly finely modelled female figure on its cover, was brought to light a few years ago, but unfortunately a considerable portion of the lid was in fragments (fig. 30). In its rectangular shape this sarcophagus resembles recently discovered Carthaginian anthropoid sarcophagi, with which it was no doubt contemporaneous in date.¹

Ossuary chests of a small size, containing calcined bones, have also been discovered in considerable quantity in the tombs of the Lilybæum necropolis, though none, so far, with representations of the human figure, or with any inscription on them, as have been met with at Carthage.²

No sarcophagi have been discovered in this neighbourhood similar to the two Phœnician anthropoid sarcophagi from La Cannita, near Palermo, which are now preserved in the Palermo National Museum. These two sarcophagi, which are among the few important monumental Phœnician or Punic relics that have so far been discovered in Sicily, are undoubtedly of the highest interest to us, and, as such, it will not be out of place here to give a summary of what has been recorded of them by various writers on Sicilian archæology.³

¹ This sarcophagus was offered for sale to the author, but owing to its much-damaged condition the offer was declined, and the sarcophagus, after being cleverly restored, is said to have been sold to a dealer abroad.

² R. P. Delattre, *op. cit.*, 1904, p. 1.

³ Michele Del Giudice, *MS. Bib. Com. Palermo*, 1725; Mougitore, *Opus scient. filog. del Calogera*, tom. x., Venezia, 1734; D'Orville, *Sicula*, i. 42 *seq.*, plates A and B, Amsterdam, 1764; Torremuzza, *Coll. inscrip. Sicil.*, 18; Francesco Di



FIG. 30.—Terracotta sarcophagus from Lilybaeum.

The two sarcophagi are both of white marble and are of the usual Egyptian mummy-case shape, with curves following, to a certain extent, the contour lines of the human body. The first was discovered in 1695, by some labourers engaged in quarrying stone in the neighbourhood of Solunto, the ancient Solus, and at a spot called La Cannita, situated about eight kilometres to the south or south-east of Palermo. It was found in an underground sepulchre, cut in the live rock, the approach to which was closed by a large block of stone. When opened, the sarcophagus was found to contain the remains of a skeleton intact, as also, it is stated, some vases and medallions, though these are said to have been stolen at the time of the discovery, and nothing further is known of them. The case or trough itself also appears to have since disappeared, the marble lid only remaining at the present day, while a wooden case has been substituted for the original marble one.

The figure represented on the lid, or cover, is apparently that of a young woman, with her hair carefully bound up, two tresses only hanging down, one on either side of the head, and reaching as far as the breast. Both the arms are outstretched along the sides of the body, and are bare with the exception of the upper part, which shows a small portion of the dress, apparently a sleeveless tunic, the only portion of it visible. The feet are also bare, and rest against the upturned foot of the sarcophagus cover.

The measurements of this sarcophagus, or rather of its lid, are as follows : maximum length, 2.12 m. ; maximum breadth, 0.80 m. (not including the projecting handles). It appears to have had three small projecting handles to facilitate the lifting of it, one on each side and one at the foot. There is no sign of any handle having existed at the head.

This sarcophagus, on its discovery, appears to have been first taken to the Duke of Uzeda, a Spaniard, then Viceroy of Sicily,

Giovanni, *Bull. Com. Ant. e Belle Arti in Sicilia*, i., 1847 ; D'Ondes-Reggio, *idem.*, 1864.

According to the Abate Del Giudice and D'Orville, *three* of these anthropoid sarcophagi were found at La Cannita, but what became of the third appears to be unknown. D'Orville gives a plate showing the trough of a sarcophagus, with ornamented sides, totally different from the two sarcophagi preserved in the Palermo Museum, as also a plate showing a sepulchre chamber containing three sarcophagi.

who later on, however, when leaving the island, handed it over to Giuseppe Valguarnera, Prince of Niscemi, the Prætor of the town, from whose descendants the sarcophagus, or rather its cover, was eventually acquired by the National Museum of Palermo.

The second sarcophagus was discovered some years later, viz. in 1725, apparently in the same spot as the first, and in a similar hypogeum. This sarcophagus, which first came into the possession of Prince Catolica and was taken by him to Misilmeri, a small town not far distant, was acquired by the Palermo Museum at the same time as the other one.

The two sarcophagi differ considerably from each other. That first discovered, with the exception of the head, the arms, and the feet, shows nothing of the figure represented on its cover, or of its outline, in this respect resembling the Egyptian mummy-cases; whereas the more recently discovered sarcophagus shows much more detail in the representation of the figure on the lid, also a female one, though apparently that of an older woman, this being fully draped with a robe, or *chiton*, showing the contour lines of the body, while the left arm is bent at the elbow, and the hand holds an alabastron. Unfortunately, the face and part of the body of this figure are somewhat damaged.

At first sight one might suppose this last-mentioned sarcophagus to be of a later date than that of the earlier-discovered one; but the style and workmanship of the latter, though simpler, are far superior to those of the former, and point to the contrary being the case. The artistic treatment of the head and the style of the head-dress in the sarcophagus first discovered show Greek taste and influence, if not actual Greek workmanship.

From the MS. report existing in the Palermo Communal Library, which is supposed to have been written by the Cassinese abbot Michele del Giudice at the time of the discovery of the second sarcophagus, we learn that both the trough and the cover of this sarcophagus, when first brought to light, showed distinct signs of having been painted, the colour then being so fresh as to have stained the hands and dress of those touching it.

No traces of any colour remain at the present day, either on this or on the other anthropoid sarcophagus. The measurements

of this sarcophagus are as follows: maximum length, 2·20 m.; maximum breadth, 0·80 m.; maximum height, 0·80 m. The lid, or cover, has four small projecting handles, one on each side, one at the head, and one at the foot.

One cannot help being struck by the apparent apathy which has existed in the past concerning this important discovery, and the fact of it not having been followed up by careful exploration in the vicinity of the spot where the sarcophagi were found. It is hardly presumable that these tombs formed isolated burials, and other similar ones probably exist in the neighbourhood, which may perhaps have been the site of a necropolis belonging to Solus or Panormus, although it is equally possible that it may have been the site of some hitherto unknown, or unrecorded, Phœnician or more probably Punic settlement, situated between those two towns. In any case, if we may judge from the character of the tombs discovered at La Cannita, they can only have belonged to a settlement of some importance.

Since the discovery of the two Palermo sarcophagi, other anthropoid sarcophagi have been found in Phœnicia itself, chiefly at Sidon,¹ and more recently at Carthage, where four fine examples of such sarcophagi were brought to light in 1904.²

Some of the Sidon sarcophagi closely resemble the Palermo examples, one of them showing the arms of the figure, with a hand holding an alabastron; but those found at Carthage are of another type, differing not only in being of a rectangular shape, but also showing more elaborate and detailed treatment.

These Punic sarcophagi were discovered in the later-period necropolis near the hill of St Monica, and are no doubt of a more recent date than either the Sidon or the Palermo sarcophagi, which are of the same type.

The anthropoid³ sarcophagus, though originally suggested by and modelled on the lines of the Egyptian mummy-case, is undoubtedly a Phœnician speciality, being peculiar to Phœnicia and

¹ Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 401 *seqq.* Several of these sarcophagi from Sidon and from Tortosa are preserved in the Louvre Museum at Paris.

² R. P. Delattre, *op. cit.*, 1904.

³ Herodotus (ii. 86) makes use of this term when speaking of Egyptian mummy-cases.

its offshoots and colonies. Examples of it have apparently been found only in countries where the Phœnicians are known to have dwelt, viz. in Phœnicia itself, Sicily, Malta, and Corsica.¹ According to Renan, it was probably in use from about 800 or 900 to about 200 B.C., but other authorities are of the opinion that the oldest anthropoid sacrophagi do not date from a period anterior to the sixth century before Christ.²

There is not the slightest doubt that these sarcophagi were always intended to be placed horizontally in the ground, and it is a mistake to suppose, as some do, that because of the pronounced projection at the foot of the lid, which is found in some cases, they were meant to stand erect or vertically. The light Egyptian mummy-cases, made of wood, had a reason for the projecting foot, for apparently they were placed in an upright position on certain occasions and during the celebration of certain rites; but the heavy Phœnician sarcophagi, once deposited in their last resting-place, were never intended to be moved, or perhaps even to be seen again, and this latter fact, coupled with that of these coffins being, as a rule, painted all over, may explain the absence of inscriptions on them.

The celebrated sarcophagus of Eshmounazar, king of Sidon, discovered at Mugharet-Abloun, and now preserved in the Paris Louvre Museum, was no doubt an exception to the rule; but this was not placed in a hypogeum, nor, being of a fine black marble, was it probably ever intended to be painted. It was apparently placed in a grave, under a pavilion, but almost in the open air. It bears one inscription on its cover, and another at the head of its trough.

The only inscriptions which have, so far, been met with in the Birgi necropolis are the two referred to earlier in this chapter, when speaking of the large-sized sarcophagi found in this cemetery.

Both of them are in archaic Greek, and appear to be tomb epitaphs. Further reference will be made to these inscriptions in another chapter; meanwhile, it may be observed that, apart from the information conveyed by the first epitaph regarding the

¹ Renan, *op. cit.*, pp. 424 and 425.

² Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.*, iii. 183.

Phœnician sentiment as to a tomb serving exclusively for one burial, these inscriptions tend to confirm still more our belief with regard to Hellenic influence having become all-predominant throughout Punic Sicily during the later period of Motya's existence, and this influence apparently became still more accentuated after Lilybæum had taken the place of the island city.

The greater number of the tombs of this necropolis which have recently been brought to light would seem to have been visited at some previous period and their contents rifled, either entirely or in part. A few of them, however, have escaped such violation, and, in addition to the remains of skeletons, contain pottery and other articles, among which, besides the ordinary unglazed terracotta, are to be found figured Greek vases, both black on a red ground and red on a black ground, as well as plain black-glazed ware, small Phœnician glass-paste vases, articles of jewellery and amulets.

Apparently no proto-Corinthian vases are to be found in this necropolis, as in the earlier burial-ground at Motya.

A few weapons and arms of warfare are occasionally to be met with here, but they are not common. No coins have been found in any of the Birgi tombs.

The contents of these tombs may justify us in looking upon this necropolis as dating from about the middle or end of the seventh to the beginning of the fourth century B.C., when Motya ceased to exist as a town. Thus the period during which the Birgi cemetery continued in use, or what we have called the second period of Motya, may be taken to have extended over a space of about two hundred or two hundred and fifty years, while the earlier, or so-called first period of Motya, during which the island burial-ground was in use, can hardly have been less than one hundred and fifty years, and was probably a good deal more than that.

With our present limited knowledge, however, it is naturally impossible to fix these dates with any degree of certainty, the only recorded date we possess being that of the fall of Motya in 397 B.C., while the date of the foundation of the original colony, as well as that of the change of necropolis, are both unknown to us.

What seems to be undoubted, however, is the continuity or

uninterrupted succession of the mainland necropolis to that of the island, this being clearly shown by the tombs of the cemeteries themselves. In the one case, that of the island necropolis, the burials are almost exclusively on the principle of cremation, with but few inhumation tombs, and these evidently belonging to the very last period of that necropolis; in the other, that of the mainland cemetery, inhumation ruling, to the almost total exclusion of cremation, the very few incineration tombs that have been found belonging probably to the days immediately following upon the change. As observed by Professor Pace,¹ the chain of chronological succession connecting the two necropolises could not have been better documented.

PARTICULARS OF SEVEN INHUMATION TOMBS, FORMED BY
SARCOPHAGI, FOUND IN THE EARLY NECROPOLIS AT MOTYA

No. 1. A sarcophagus hollowed out of a single block of sandstone, measuring externally 1.74 m. in length, 0.54 m. in width, and 0.54 m. in depth. Its lid was apparently originally formed of two slabs, but one of these is now in fragments.

The two longitudinal sides of this sarcophagus each have two small round holes pierced or bored through them, one towards the head, the other towards the foot, about 10 cm. below the upper rim.

Orientation.—E. and W.

Contents.—In addition to the remains of a skeleton, two small vases of an ordinary unglazed yellowish clay.

No. 2. A sarcophagus formed of two pieces of sandstone, hollowed out of two separate blocks, with its cover also in two pieces.

External Measurements.—2.03 m. by 0.58 m. by 0.44 m.

Orientation.—E. and W.

¹ Professor B. Pace, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

Contents.—Besides the remains of a skeleton, this tomb contained a black-figured Greek *lekythos*, the subject on which apparently represents Hercules' combat with a lion, the upper portion of the vase



FIG. 31.—Sarcophagus showing a Greek *kylix*.

having an ivy-leaf pattern on it. Beside this figured vase were the fragments of an ordinary unglazed vase.

No. 3 (fig. 31). A sarcophagus formed by two pieces, hollowed out of separate blocks of sandstone, with the lid also in two pieces.

External Measurements.—1·94 m. by 0·57 m. by 0·40 m.

Orientation.—E. and W.

Contents.—Besides the remains of a skeleton, this tomb contained a black glazed *kylix* and two ordinary unglazed vases of a yellowish colour, one with red lines around it.

No. 4. A sarcophagus formed of two pieces, hollowed out of separate blocks of sandstone, the lid also in two pieces.

Measurements.—1·98 m. by 0·54 m. by 0·37 m.

Orientation.—E. and W.

Contents.—Nil.

No. 5. Of this sarcophagus a fragment only remains, the greater portion of the tomb having apparently been destroyed by the building of the fortification wall by which it was found, or perhaps by the reconstruction of that wall at a later period.

Orientation.—E.N.E. and W.S.W.

No. 6. A sarcophagus formed out of a single block of sandstone, with one end of it missing. The portion which remains measures 1·10 m. by 0·59 m. by 0·27 m. The lid of this tomb appears to have been formed by a semicircular slab, covering only a small part of the sarcophagus, probably the head.

Orientation.—N.E. and S.W.

Contents.—Nil.

No. 7. This sarcophagus is almost entirely in fragments.

Orientation.—N. and S.

PARTICULARS OF TWELVE INHUMATION TOMBS, FORMED BY SARCOPHAGI, FOUND NEAR THE NORTH GATEWAY

Of these tombs eight were found immediately outside the foundations of the fortification walls adjoining the eastern advanced tower, seven of them lying close together and side by side in a row, the remaining tomb a little apart and further inland.

These sarcophagi, when discovered, were all in a more or less damaged state and contained nothing but the remains of skeletons, these, in some cases, being no less than three, and in one case even four, all together in a single tomb.

These sarcophagi appear to be all composed of separate sandstone slabs, put together, and are none of them hollowed out of single or double blocks.

Within the line of fortifications, a few metres further west, and at a somewhat higher level, four other sarcophagi were found, similarly composed of separate sandstone slabs, joined together. In addition to a single skeleton, each of these contained articles of ornament, chiefly bead necklaces, as well as a few ordinary unglazed vases, apparently of a comparatively late period; and one of them also contained two coins.

Further mention will be made of the contents of these tombs in the following chapter, when speaking of glass-work.

PARTICULARS OF SOME INCINERATION TOMBS OR VASE BURIALS FOUND IN THE EARLY NECROPOLIS AT MOTYA

These burials are formed by holes dug in the rock or tufa, and sometimes in the loose soil, with either terracotta urns or stone boxes placed in them to hold the cremated remains, and are generally accompanied by several smaller terracotta vessels placed around them. Occasionally, though rarely, no central urn or stone coffin is to be found, the cremated remains in such a case being placed in a small hollow in the ground, with the subsidiary vessels close by them.

No. 1. The central vase, or cinerary urn, containing cremated remains, is a two-handled vase of globular shape, with a small flat base and a small mouth. It is composed of an ordinary unglazed terracotta of a dull whitish colour, becoming reddish above, and is decorated with several blackish lines painted round it, chiefly on the upper portion, a blackish geometrical design being painted round the belly of the vase. No lid or cover was found with it. Measurements :

0.38 m. high, 0.97 m. maximum circumference. Surrounding it were seven smaller vessels, consisting of :—

- A.* A single-handled, bottle-shaped vase, with a flat mushroom-shaped top, of unglazed terracotta of a reddish colour becoming darker above, and having a solitary black line painted round it.
- B.* A single-handled round pot of an ordinary reddish clay.
- C.* Another similar-shaped pot, but smaller and of a whitish clay.
- D.* A small single-handled jug, without lip, of whitish clay.
- E.* A still smaller vase, similar in colour, but with a pointed base.
- F.* A small flat bowl, with straight sides, of reddish clay.
- G.* A single-handled, triple-lipped vase of a finer description of pottery of a yellowish colour, lined throughout with black and brown stripes and slightly glazed. This vase is probably Cumæan or South Italian, and has no doubt been imported from Magna Græcia.

No. 2 (fig. 32). The central urn is a large olla, minus its upper portion, containing cremated remains. Around it are three smaller vases of an ordinary unglazed terracotta, viz. :—

- A.* A mushroom-topped, bottle-shaped vase.
- B.* A pear-shaped vase.
- C.* A small round pot, with a broken cover.

By the side of this olla was found a large iron spear-head. This is the only instance so far met with of a weapon being found otherwise than in a stone-box burial.

No. 3. The central vase, containing the cremated remains, is an amphora covered at its mouth by a terracotta

platter, exactly fitting the orifice. The vase is of ordinary reddish clay and is without any decoration. Around it were five smaller vessels, viz. :—

- A. A single-handled, bottle-shaped vase, with a mushroom-shaped top, of reddish clay.
- B. A single-handled round pot.
- C. Another similar round pot.
- D. A small jug.
- E. A small double-handled vase of a yellowish colour, of finer pottery, with black and brown lines round it, and slightly glazed. This is probably imported ware from Magna Græcia.

No. 4. The central urn, with cremated remains, a double-handled, globular-shaped vase, with a flat base and small mouth, and without any cover. It is of a pale reddish terracotta, decorated with straight lines painted round the upper and lower portions of the belly, and between them has thick undulating lines painted vertically, similar wavy lines being painted on the handles. Measurements: 0·34 m. in height and 0·97 m. in circumference.

Around the central urn are five smaller vases, viz. :—

- A. A small jug, with a very wide mouth, of red clay, painted with blackish horizontal and vertical lines.
- B. A small open vase, or tazza, of red clay, similarly ornamented.
- C. A small bowl, with straight sides of reddish clay, slightly lined.
- D. A round pot of ordinary reddish clay.
- E. A bottle-shaped vase, with flat top, in fragments.

No. 5 (fig. 33, *right-hand side*). A burial showing the cremated remains placed in a slight hollow on the



FIG. 32.—Cremation burial urn. No. 2.



FIG. 33.—Cremation burials. Nos. 5 and 6.

bare ground and not in an urn or stone coffin. Adjoining the cremated remains was the usual accompaniment of small vases, viz. :—

- A. A bottle-shaped vase, with a mushroom-shaped top, of ordinary clay.
- B. A pear-shaped vase of ordinary clay.
- C. A small round pot do.
- D. A small wide-mouthed bowl with two handles.
- E. Another similar-shaped bowl, but of finer ware, no doubt imported from abroad.

No. 6 (fig. 33, *left side*). A tomb formed by sandstone slabs put together and very roughly worked, with a rough slab of the same description as a lid. It is 0.50 m. square at the mouth and is 0.55 m. in depth. Five small vases were found around it, viz. :—

- A. A flat-topped, bottle-shaped vase of unglazed ware, minus the top.
- B. A pear-shaped vase, unglazed.
- C. A round pot do.
- D. A small jug do.
- E. A small double-handled, open-mouthed bowl of a finer ware, probably imported.

No. 7 (fig. 34). A burial formed by a large olla, measuring 0.40 m. in height by 1.05 m. in girth, composed of an ordinary quality of terracotta, in which were found the *uncremated* remains of an infant. A portion of the mouth of the vase is missing, and had no doubt been broken off purposely in order to allow of the passage of the small body whole. Above the burial was found a rude stele of sandstone. This is the only instance of uncremated remains found in a vase in this necropolis.

Around the olla were six small subsidiary vases, viz. :—

- A and B. Two small proto-Corinthian aryballoi.
- C. A single-handled, three-lipped jug of yellow terracotta.

D. A small round-bellied vase, with a small top and one handle.

E. A small open-mouthed bowl.

F. A cup of a blackish terracotta.

No. 8. A stone box-shaped tomb cut out of a single sandstone block, with a rough unworked slab as a cover.



FIG. 34.—Burial urn with uncremated remains. No. 7.

Measurements : 0·46 m. by 0·31 m., and 0·25 m. in depth.

Besides the cremated remains inside the coffin, the following vases, all of unglazed terracotta, were found around it, viz. :—

A. An *ænoché*.

B. A flat-topped, bottle-shaped vase.

C and *D.* Two small round pots.

E. A small open-mouthed bowl.

F. A small oil vase.

G. A small platter.

No. 9 (fig. 35). A small box-shaped coffin, cut out of a single sandstone block, measuring 0·20 m. square and 0·30 m. deep, with a squared lid, exactly fitting the coffin's mouth.

Besides the cremated remains inside the coffin were four vases of unglazed ware, viz. :—

- A. A flat-topped, bottle-shaped vase.
- B. A pear-shaped vase.
- C. A small round pot.
- D. A small open-mouthed bowl, with straight sides.

Among the cremated remains were also found a silver pendant and some beads, both of silver and of paste composition, no doubt part of a necklace.

No. 10 (fig. 36). A tomb formed by rough sandstone slabs, put together like a box and covered by another rough stone slab. The tomb measures 0·30 m. square at the top, and is 0·60 m. deep. No small vases were found around this tomb, although a fairly large urn adjoined it—probably belonging to another burial. Inside the coffin and among the cremated remains quite a treasure hoard was discovered, consisting of the following, viz. :—

- A. An enamelled alabastron of the usual greenish-blue colour, measuring 11 cm. in height by 12 cm. in circumference, on which are depicted the figures of antelopes and conventional plants (see Frontispiece).¹
- B. Two scarabs.
- C. A silver ring with another scarab in it.
- D. Three other silver rings.
- E. Numerous beads of various kinds, no doubt part of a necklace.
- F. Several small fragments of bronze.

¹ The species of antelope depicted on this vase is probably the *Bubal*, one of the few antelopes known to the ancients and alluded to by Herodotus and other writers. It used to be plentiful at one time in Egypt and Arabia, but is apparently now no longer to be found in the former country.



FIG. 35.—A stone box-shaped receptacle. No. 9.



FIG. 36.—A stone box-shaped receptacle. No. 10.

No. 11 (fig. 37). A group of typical burials.

No. 12 (fig. 38). Another group of typical burials.



FIG. 37.—Group of cremation-burials. No. 11.



FIG. 38.—Group of cremation-burials. No. 12.

A BURIAL-GROUND FOR THE REMAINS OF SACRIFICED OFFERINGS

In the spring of 1919, in consequence of the discovery of a considerable number of stelæ in a field adjoining the northern coast of the island, situated about two hundred metres to the west of the early-date necropolis previously met with, some exploration was carried out in this spot, with the result of another burial-ground being brought to light, one of a novel character, however, and which would appear to be unlike any previously recorded burial-ground. It would indeed seem to have been, not an ordinary cemetery for the burial of human beings, but one devoted chiefly to the interment of the remains of domestic animals, though also, to a certain extent, of human infants, which, if an opinion may be hazarded, had been victims of sacrificial offerings to the pagan deities.

The fact of the remains of human infants being found here would preclude the theory of the cemetery having served for the burial of pet or sacred animals.

Up to the present time about one hundred and fifty burials have been brought into full evidence. Of these about one-third have been examined by competent anatomists, with the result that, although the contents of many of them are quite indeterminable, a certain number have been found to belong to human infants of a very tender age, though the greater part are those of young domestic and other animals, such as lambs and kids, calves, dogs and cats, and, in one case, of a monkey. The remains of ruminants would appear to predominate.

The burials are formed by single urns or vases, for the most part covered with a terracotta lid, though at times only by a stone, and are placed in the soil at a depth of about half a metre only below the present surface of the ground. The vases are chiefly found in an upright position, at no great distance apart from each other, and they are without any accompaniment of smaller vessels round them.

In a few cases no incinerated remains are found in the vases, which may be attributed to these vases having been visited at a later date and their contents emptied.

The incinerated material found in most of the burials is, in many cases, so pulverised as to render a determination of the contents impossible. This is probably due to the intense degree of heat to which it has been subjected.

The urns found in this burial-ground are chiefly ollæ or amphoræ, either single- or double-handled, measuring from 20 to 30 cm. in height and from 50 to 70 cm. in circumference. A few larger vases, however, measuring as much as 35 cm. in height and 85 cm. in girth, have been met with. Some of the types of vases found here had not previously been met with at Motya.

Many stelæ are to be found in this burial-ground, particularly in one part of it. Most of them, however, are not in an upright position, but are lying prone on the ground, as if they had been either purposely thrown down, or, as seems more probable, overturned by the plough, in the course of agricultural work.

A few coins have been found in some of the vases, and, in two or three cases, small fragments of bronze and iron.

None of the coins are of a date anterior to the fifth century B.C., showing that this burial-ground belongs to the later period of Motya's history. It was, indeed, probably of Punic institution, for we know how fond the Carthaginians were of sacrificing to their gods.

Apparently the custom of sacrificing children, for the most part newly born infants, and often the firstborn, once a common practice at Carthage, was somewhat modified at a later period by the substitution of domestic and other inferior animals in their stead, and still later, it is supposed, by the erection of mere stone monuments.¹ This latter innovation might perhaps explain the fact of so many stelæ being found in this spot, and it will be interesting if further exploration here tends to confirm the supposition.²

¹ Cf. Ph. Berger, *La Phénicie*, p. 26.

² Professor Flinders Petrie (*Abydos*, ii. 9) records having met with hundreds of little twists of burnt clay in a spot which would seem to have served as a hearth for burnt offerings in one of the temples at Abydos, in Upper Egypt, and he is no doubt right in thinking that these terracotta pieces formed a conventional representation of some object of offering, perhaps the fore-quarters or legs of sheep. From the description given of the site, it certainly cannot have been a mere rubbish-heap, as no ordinary rubbish or fragments of broken pottery were found there, and the spot was carefully delimited by a line of bricks.

Seeing that the nature of the burials here did not involve the need of much space, there was probably no restriction as to its use, even up to the very last period of Motya.

The entire area of the burial-ground has not yet been ascer-



FIG. 39.—Trench in newly discovered burial-ground.

tained, only two trial trenches (figs. 39 and 40), with an intermediary connecting one, having so far been dug; but its extension from the sea-cliff inland would seem to be determined by some roughly built walls, the foundations of which have been met with at a distance of about twenty metres from the cliff.

A slightly raised platform, measuring about six metres square,

has been found close to the fortification walls adjoining this cliff, which may possibly have served for the altar on which the offerings were sacrificed ; but there is no proof of this, and the platform may equally well have formed a part of the fortifications.

Further exploration will, however, shortly be made here, when more may be ascertained regarding this interesting burial-ground.



FIG. 40.—Trench in newly discovered burial-ground.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MOTYA MUSEUM

A DESCRIPTION having been given in the preceding chapters of the more important archæological discoveries of a monumental character that have been made at Motya, such as fortifications, dwelling-houses, and other masonry constructions, as also of the Motyan cemeteries, it now remains for us to speak of the more interesting of the smaller or portable objects of antiquity which are preserved in the Motya Museum, dealing with them separately under the following headings, viz. prehistoric articles; stone and marble work; vases and terracotta; glass, including objects of personal adornment; metal-work of all kinds, including arms and weapons of warfare as well as jewellery and personal ornaments; ivory, bone, and shells; and, lastly, coins.

PREHISTORIC ARTICLES

Allusion has been made in the preceding chapter to the discovery at Motya and in its immediate neighbourhood of objects which would appear to belong to a prehistoric age, and to the inference to be drawn therefrom of this island and the vicinity having been inhabited by other dwellers prior to the advent of the Phœnicians. That this should have been the case is, after all, but natural, and, as already surmised, it seems highly probable that the Canaanite traders may, on their arrival on the shores of Western Sicily, have found these earlier dwellers still in possession of the land, and entered into friendly commercial dealings with them.

Who the original inhabitants of this part of Sicily may have been it is not possible to say with certainty, though we must presume they were either Sicans, Sicels, or Elymians. In any case, we

may suppose that, however cordial may have been the relations between them and the newcomers at first, and perhaps for some time afterwards, the older element will gradually have dwindled away and eventually have died out entirely, or been absorbed by the younger and more powerful race.

The following objects in the Motya Museum, which have been found either on the island itself or on the adjacent mainland, may be included in this category, as probably being of prehistoric origin (figs. 41 to 45) :—

- (a) *Flint Articles*.—A few barbed arrow-heads and numerous flint flakes which have probably served as knives and scrapers.
- (b) *Obsidian*.—Several pieces, some in lumps of a fairly large size, and others in flakes and chips which also have the appearance of having been used as knives and scrapers.
- (c) *Terracotta Articles*.—A few hand-made pots and three spoons. Similar roughly fashioned pots, not made on the wheel, have been found actually within some of the cremation tombs of the early Motya necropolis, and it is therefore difficult to say positively that those found elsewhere on the island may not have been made by the early traders themselves on first arriving at Motya.

The three spoons were found in the soil, at a spot not far from the necropolis, close to the sea-shore, on the north side of the island.

Several perforated whorls of different sizes, which have the appearance of spindle-whorls, but may possibly, at least some of them, have formed part of necklaces.¹ They vary in size from two to six centimetres in diameter at the widest part. Some of these whorls have been found in the loose soil of the early necropolis, and others,

¹ Cf. A. Mosso, *Le origini della civiltà Mediterranea (Preistoria)*, p. 131 seq., figs. 93, 94, 95. Professor Mosso appears to have found these whorls in tombs, lying by the necks of skeletons.

Schliemann, when meeting with large numbers of such whorls in the excavations at Troy, imagined that they could only have served as votive offerings, brought to the protecting deity, Athene Ergana; but apparently his opinion was subsequently modified on his meeting with many identical whorls among the ruins of Mycenæ.



FIG. 41.—Prehistoric articles.



FIG. 42.—Ancient pottery sherds.

in another spot on the island, at a depth of three metres below the surface of the ground.

Numerous sherds and fragments of terracotta of a neolithic type. Among them is one which seems undoubtedly to have formed part of a crucible.¹

The rudely moulded head of a bull, and that of a figure possibly intended to represent an idol.



FIG. 43.—Fragment of a crucible.

- (d) *Bone articles*, including several rings, apparently cut out of stags' antlers or other bones, and probably forming part of necklaces.

Astragali or knuckle-bones.

Perforated fish vertebræ, also probably part of necklaces.

- (e) *Sea-shells* of various species, many of them perforated for suspension as ornaments, or as talismans.

¹ Cf. A. Mosso, *op. cit.*, p. 221, fig. 145.



FIG. 44.—Hand-made pottery.



FIG. 45.—Terracotta whorls.

STONE AND MARBLE WORK

The Phœnicians, skilled workers as they were in the hewing of stone and in the use of the axe for all practical and utilitarian purposes, were apparently not equally at home in the use of the chisel, or famous for the production of purely ornamental or decorative stonework. They seem to have applied themselves chiefly and almost exclusively to plain stonework on a large scale, and neglected the smaller and more minute artistic work. This may have been due in part, perhaps, to the absence or poverty in their own country of a material adapted for sculpture, for apparently neither marble nor sandstone was to be found in Phœnicia; but the principal reason, one may venture to think, was a lack of inherent artistic taste and natural inclination on their part for such work.

As in the mother-country, so also in its colonies and offshoots this deficiency appears to have been generally noticeable, though it was no doubt modified to a considerable extent in the case of those cities or settlements that may have come under the influence of other and more artistic nations.

Thus at Motya the early Phœnician settlers probably directed their attention solely to the erection of such simple constructions as were deemed sufficient for their shelter and other requirements, contenting themselves for that purpose with the rough and poor material found on the island itself; and, for some time after, they were doubtless satisfied with such rude and primitive buildings, and saw no necessity for any improvement, least of all from an artistic point of view.

It was probably not until they had come into contact with the Greeks living in other parts of Sicily, that the Motyans in some measure modified their views in this respect and gradually commenced to adopt other ideas, both as to the construction and architecture of their buildings as well as with regard to the embellishment of their town and dwellings.

From that time onward, and even after Motya had definitively come under the sway of Carthage, Greek influence no doubt ruled to a considerable extent in all matters relating to building and architecture, as well as in everything connected with industrial

art. Carthage itself, we know, was similarly affected by Hellenic influence during the later period of its life-history. Both towns appear to have had a considerable resident Greek population.

Motya, unfortunately, had no stone of its own, suitable either for the better class of masonry work or for sculpture, and was therefore obliged to import what it required from the mainland.

The *poros*, or sandstone, so plentiful in some parts of Sicily, the material chiefly employed for sculpture in the early days, before marble came into use, was not to be found at Motya itself or in its immediate vicinity, and still less the fine soft stone, such as is commonly found at Malta, which lends itself so admirably for ornamental work of small size.

The nearest quarries which produce a good quality of sandstone are those in the neighbourhood of Marsala, and from these probably Motya obtained what it required, both for its more recently erected fortifications, with their battlements, and for all its later buildings, whether dwelling-houses or other constructions.

This good quality of sandstone from the neighbourhood of Marsala apparently also served for making all the larger pieces of ornamental stonework used in buildings at Motya; but most of the smaller pieces of ornamented work preserved in the Motya Museum are of other material, such as marble, limestone, and lava, which must have been imported from other and more distant places. In the vicinity of the town of Trapani a pure white limestone of a hard quality is to be found, and this appears to have been used a good deal in the old days, as it is now. It goes by the name of *pietra argenteria*.

In order to account for the paucity of ornamental marble and stone work found among the ruins of Motya, one must suppose that most of what was portable was carried away after the destruction of the town, either by the Greeks, as war loot, or, later on, by the Carthaginians and the few surviving Motyans, when founding the new town of Lilybæum.

The few pieces coming under this heading that are to be seen in the museum at Motya are probably those which have escaped notice in the past, owing to their having been buried at a considerable depth below the surface of the ground, or possibly

merely to the fact of their not having been considered worth taking away.

The following articles of stone and marble work preserved in the museum may be mentioned as being worthy of special notice :—

(a) (Fig. 46.) Three cylindrical blocks or drums of sandstone, with projecting bases, and, in one case, also with a



FIG. 46.—Bases of altars.

projecting top, the general appearance of which would lead one to think that they may have formed altars, or portions of altars. In shape one of them resembles the more simple of the two altars discovered in the temple of Hagiar Kim at Malta.¹

A somewhat similar form of altar appears to have been in common use in Syria.²

In height these blocks measure from 0·50 m. to 0·55 m.,

¹ Cf. Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.*, iii. 304, fig. 229.

² *Ibid.*, fig. 191.

and in the circumference of the drum from 1·35 m. to 1·70 m. Two of them seem to have had rectangular bases ; the third, a circular one ; but, in all three cases, only portions of the bases still remain, while the upper parts, or tables, which probably once existed, have disappeared entirely.



FIG. 47.—Stone font or basin.

Two of the blocks were found among the stone-heaps piled up by the peasants of the island as boundary walls to their properties ; the third having been found on the small mole on the east coast of Motya, where it had served for years as a mooring-post for boats !

(b) (Fig. 47.) A large font, or basin, hollowed out of a block of sandstone, which, to judge from the fact of two of its sides being unworked or smoothed, must have fitted

into a corner of some building or an angle formed by two walls.

The basin measures 0·60 m. in diameter and 0·40 m. in depth. Its base or pedestal is missing. It shows traces of having been once coated over with white stucco. It was found at Birgi, close to the necropolis, and may perhaps have served for some religious purpose.



FIG. 48.—Marble cone.



FIG. 49.—Stone cippus.

- (c) (Fig. 48.) A white marble cone, measuring 0·70 m. in height and 0·90 m. in circumference at the base, tapering to 0·50 m. at the top, where there is a cap. It is broken in two places, and a portion of it is missing.

This cone, which may very possibly have been a sacred cone, was discovered among the ruins of a building on the west coast of the island.

A portion of a smaller cone, of a dark-coloured marble, is also preserved in the museum.

- (d) (Fig. 49.) A cippus, carved out of a single sandstone block, with a pyramidal cap on top. It measures 0·95 m. in height and 0·39 m. square at the base, tapering to 0·20 m. square at its junction with the cap.

This cippus, which bears no inscription or device, was discovered in an angle formed by the fortification walls adjoining the long staircase on the east of the island. It shows slight traces of a red pigment on the upper part.

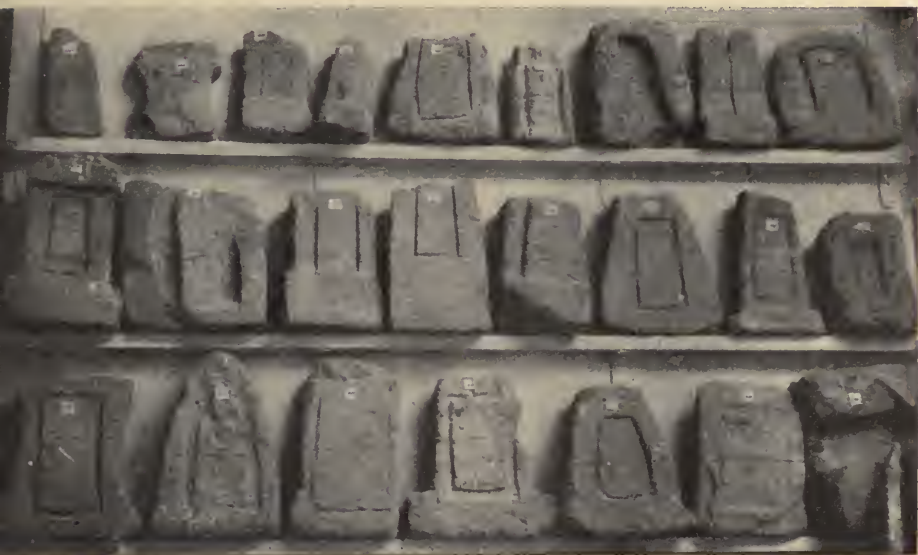


FIG. 50.—Early-period stelæ.

A somewhat similar pyramidal-shaped sandstone cap, undoubtedly part of a cippus, though detached, was found among the ruins at Cappiddazzu.

- (e) *Stelæ*.—As already stated in the preceding chapter, treating of the Motyan cemeteries, a large number of stelæ have been found on the island, the greater part of them, however, being of a rude and simple character, and differing considerably from the elaborately ornamented and, in many cases, inscribed stelæ which have been met with in some of the Punic cemeteries at Carthage, as also in Sardinia and at Lilybæum.

These very simple grave-stones—for such they may be called—no doubt belong to the earlier period of Motya, whereas others which have been met with in the recently discovered burial-ground, or repository for the remains, as we suppose, of the victims of sacrifices, and which bear figures on them, undoubtedly belong to a later period.

Fig. 50 shows some of the simpler and older types of stelæ which are commonly found at Motya. These



FIG. 51.—Later-period stelæ.

are formed by small upright blocks of sandstone, as a rule measuring from 0.25 m. to 0.35 m. in height by from 0.15 m. to 0.20 m. in breadth, and about the same in thickness, with lines incised on them, representing no doubt the *ædes*, or sacred building, and, in some cases, with *bætyli*, either single or double. Most of these simple or primitive stelæ have been found either within or adjoining the precincts of the early-period necropolis at Motya.

Figs. 51, 52, and 53 show some of the later and more ornamented types of stelæ, recently discovered. Three of these bear figures on them, doubtless intended to

represent deities, probably Astarte or Tanit. Three others, which have been found lately, bear the emblem of the latter goddess. These stelæ vary in height from



FIG. 52.—Later-period stelæ.



FIG. 53.—Later-period stelæ.

0.30 m. to 0.70 m., by from 25 m. to 40 m. in breadth. Two others show what was evidently meant for a human face, with a beard on it. Another, of smaller size, shows the globe and crescent. Most of the stelæ are of sandstone or limestone, but one, a large one which, when

intact, cannot have measured less than one metre in height, is of lava. This last-named stele was found in the sea, opposite the north gate.

Unlike most of the elaborately worked stēlæ found at Carthage and some other Punic sites, none of the stēlæ so far met with at Motya bears any inscription on it. The practice of inscribing these stones had evidently not



FIG. 54.—Stelæ from Lilybæum.

come into use during the days of Motya, nor does it appear to have become general even at Lilybæum, in any case during its earlier days.

The Lilybæum section of the Motya Museum possesses three small stēlæ from a burial-ground of that town, which, though resembling the well-known Lilybæum stele,¹ now preserved in the Palermo Museum, in de-

¹ Cf. *Corpus Ins. Semit.*, No. 139, plate 29; Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.*, iii. 308, fig. 232. This stele, which is of a white calcareous stone and measures 0·37 m. in height by 0·22 m. in breadth, was found in a spot near the old port of Lilybæum called *il Timpone di S. Antonio*. It bears one of the customary votive Punic inscriptions, addressed by one Hanno, son of Adonbaal, to the supreme god Baal-Ammon.

picting a priest or a worshipper in Phœnician costume, nevertheless bear no inscription on them.

The largest of these three stelæ measures 0·18 m. in height, 0·11 m. in breadth, and 0·4 m. in thickness. The other two, which are alike in their dimensions, measure 0·13 m. in height, 0·10 m. in breadth, and 0·3 m. in thickness. Fig. 54 shows two of these stelæ from Lilybæum.



FIG. 55.—Statuette of a female divinity.

(f) (Fig. 55.) A limestone statuette representing a female divinity, probably Cybele or Rhea, the great Greek goddess of the earth, seated between two lions, animals sacred to her.

The head and neck of the figure are missing, unfortunately, as is also a considerable portion of the bodies of the lions, which are seated on their haunches; but, when intact, the statuette may be supposed to have measured 0·24 m. in height, 0·23 m. in breadth, and 0·13 m. in depth. It was found among the ruins of some buildings at Motya in 1909.

This statuette is somewhat similar in design to a larger piece of work, sculptured in sandstone, which is preserved in the Palermo National Museum. The latter also apparently represents a female divinity, possibly Isis, which likewise lacks its head and neck; but the figure in this case, instead of being between two lions, is



FIG. 56.—A sphinx in sandstone.

seated between two winged and robed sphinxes. The Palermo example was found at Solunto, and, in its present somewhat mutilated state, it measures, including the base on which it stands, 0.77 m. in height, 0.76 m. in breadth, and 0.64 m. in depth.¹

¹ Serradifaleo, *Antichità della Sicilia*, v. 66, plate lxi. This plate has been reproduced by Perrot and Chipiez, but the site of the discovery of the statue, by error, is given as Selinus instead of Solunto.

This statue is hollowed out to a considerable extent at the back, whether with the object of reducing its weight, as seems not improbable, or possibly for the purpose of allowing of and facilitating some trickery on the part



FIG. 57.—A sphinx in sandstone.

of the priests at religious ceremonies, it is difficult to say. According to Professor Salinas,¹ the latter was probably the reason, the statue being one undoubtedly destined for public worship.

¹ A. Salinas, *Relazione R. Museo Palermo*, 1873, p. 39.

The fact of the sphinxes being winged and robed is interesting, and tends to confirm what we have just said of the Phœnicians, though copying Egypt to a great extent, not hesitating, at times, to adopt Assyrian art and ideas in preference, or even to strike out a line of their own, if so required. Winged sphinxes appear to have been seldom met with in Egypt, while a robed sphinx seems to have been unknown in that country.¹

(g) (Figs. 56 and 57.) Two small blocks of soft sandstone,



FIG. 58.—Lions' heads in stone and marble.

each with the figure of a sphinx sculptured on it in bold relief, one in profile, the other three-quarters face. The measurements of the former are 17 cm. high by 20 cm. in width, and of the latter, 21 cm. high by 15 cm. in width. The former was found among the ruins near the south gateway.

A third small block of sandstone in the museum also has a sphinx sculptured on it, but it is much worn and the figure is very indistinct.

As already stated, the Phœnicians appear to have copied both the Egyptians and the Assyrians in making

¹ Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.*, iii. 426.

a free use of the sphinx in ornamentation, though more especially the latter, as they seem to have generally depicted their sphinxes winged and standing erect instead of *couchant*, as in Egypt. Their scarabs also generally showed the sphinx winged.

Among other conventional devices and emblems in



FIG. 59.—Head of a marble statue.

common use among the Phœnicians, besides those connected with their religion, such as the figures of deities and objects relating to nature-worship, may be mentioned the bull, the lion, the palm tree, the lotus and pomegranate flowers, the ivy leaf, and rosettes of various forms.

(b) (Fig. 58.) A piece of sandstone, with a lion's head sculptured on it, which probably formed the spout of a rain-pipe belonging to some important building. It measures

30 cm. in length by 25 cm. in width. Similar water-spouts have been found in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, and particularly in the vicinity of the river Cÿane, from whence the sacred water was conveyed by pipes to a spot now known as the Cozzo di Scandurra, where festivities were held at certain seasons.¹

Another sculptured lion's head, shown in the same figure, is of marble, and measures 24 cm. by 14 cm.



FIG. 60.—A marble platter.

- (i) (Fig. 59.) The head of a female statue or bust, of about half natural size, sculptured in marble, which is of good Hellenistic workmanship, and probably represents some goddess. It was found on the sea-shore of Motya in 1907.
- (j) (Fig. 60.) A shallow circular dish, or platter, of a dark-coloured marble, slightly concave, with a lip on one side and three small projecting handles, two of which have an ivy leaf engraved on them. The platter measures

¹ F. S. Cavallari, *Supp. Topografia di Siracusa*.

0·23 m. in diameter. It was found among some ruins of buildings at Birgi.

- (k) (Fig. 61.) A small block of sandstone, measuring 0·40 m. by 0·30 m., which probably formed a part of some architectural ornamentation, showing a spiral design sculptured on it.
- (l) Several fragments of small fluted columns, both in marble and in sandstone, which probably served as pedestals



FIG. 61.—An architectural detail.

for basins or other vessels, standing at a height of about a metre from the ground.

Ornamented stone bases, or pedestals, together with a large and very shallow circular basin, have been found at Selinunte and are now preserved in the Palermo Museum.

- (m) (Fig. 62.) Among the ruins of Motya, specially those of its dwelling-houses, have been found numerous cylindrical blocks or drums of sandstone, with a concavity hollowed out at one end, and of sizes varying in measurement from half a metre to one metre in height by from one to two metres in girth.

Similar drums have been found at Selinunte, and possibly they may occur on some other ancient sites, though, so far as we know, they have not been recorded from elsewhere.



FIG. 62.—A concave stone drum.

The object of these drums is not clear. Professor Salinas, it is said, was of opinion that it may have been for the purpose of receiving the rain falling from the house-tops, the drums being placed at the foot of the buildings, immediately beneath the roof gutter-pipes. This conjecture seems not unreasonable, and at first sight appears to afford a satisfactory explanation.

On more careful examination, however, it will be found that many of the drums have the bottom of the concavity in them coated over with cement, and, in some cases, not only with cement, but also with iron.

In view of this, though it is possible that this amalgam coating may have been placed in the hollow of the drums in order to prevent the sandstone gradually wearing away by the dripping of water, one is led to modify the opinion



FIG. 63.—A lava millstone.

previously entertained, and to look upon these drums as having more probably served for the purpose of crushing corn, perhaps, or, as seems still more likely, for the pounding of some hard substance.

- (n) *Pestles and Mortars*.—A good many of these, in hard stone or marble, have been found at Motya. They are mostly of so rude and primitive an appearance as almost to lead one to look upon them as belonging to prehistoric times.
- (o) (Fig. 63.) A conical-shaped piece of lava, measuring about 0·40 m. in height by about 1·30 m. in girth at its base, which probably formed a millstone for grinding

corn or other matter. It was found among the ruins of Motya.

(Fig. 64.) Pieces of lava, which were also no doubt



FIG. 64.—A lava grinder and slab.

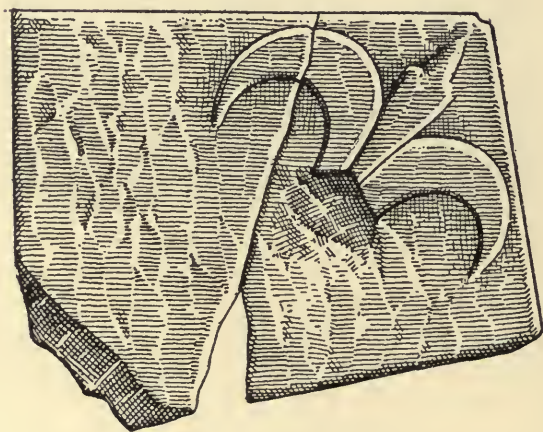


FIG. 65.—A sandstone slab.

used for grinding corn, consisting of the grinders themselves, to be held by the hand, and the flat slabs on which the material was ground. The grinders are of an oblong shape, fashioned in such a way as to be held firmly by the hand, and they are of various sizes.

Very similar pieces from Hissarlik are preserved in the Bologna Museum, to which they were presented by Schliemann.



FIG. 66.—A stone slab with palm emblem.

It is possible that lava pieces were also used for polishing the floors of houses.

These pieces are to be found in abundance all over the island, and they were probably imported, either from the island of Pantellaria, the ancient Cossyra, or from the Lipari Islands, where lava is plentiful.

- (p) Pieces of limestone, highly polished on one side, which were probably used for polishing pavements and floors.

From the great abundance of these floor-polishers, as also of the remains of mosaic and concrete floors which are found among the ruins of Motya, there can be no doubt as to such flooring having been used there to a large extent.

- (q) (Fig. 65.) A sandstone slab, measuring 0·69 m. by 0·48 m., on which is an emblem representing either a palm tree, or possibly a lotus flower. It was found among the ruins at the north gateway, and probably belonged to some part of its ornamentation.
- (r) A sandstone slab, measuring about 0·60 m. by 0·45 m., on which is sculptured the greater portion of a human foot, probably forming the base of a colossal statue, as the foot measures 0·36 m. in length. The slab has some slight ornamentation on its sides. It was found in a field on the south-east side of the island. Though careful search was made in the immediate vicinity, no other fragments were found which might have belonged to the statue.
- (s) (Fig. 66.) A small slab of limestone, with an emblem representing a palm tree engraved on it.

INSCRIPTIONS ON STONE OR MARBLE

The inscriptions preserved in the Motya Museum, other than that mentioned in Chapter I. of this Part, are not many. They are the following :—

- (a) (Fig. 67.) An archaic Greek inscription on a sandstone slab measuring 0·43 m. by 0·31 m. by 0·14 m., which was found among the debris of some sarcophagi at the Birgi necropolis. Although incomplete, the epitaph has been found capable of decipherment or reconstruction, and has been rendered thus : τὼς θεὸς ἰλάως μ' ἤμειν ἄλλον] εἰς τῷ[μβρον θέ]ντι (or ἄγοντι) μήτ' ἐ[ξάγοντι ἄνδρα θαν[ό]ντ' ἄγα[θόν].

This inscription is apparently a commination against desecration of the tomb, either by the introduction of

another body, or by removal of that already placed in it. Some of the letters show slight traces of a red colouring.¹

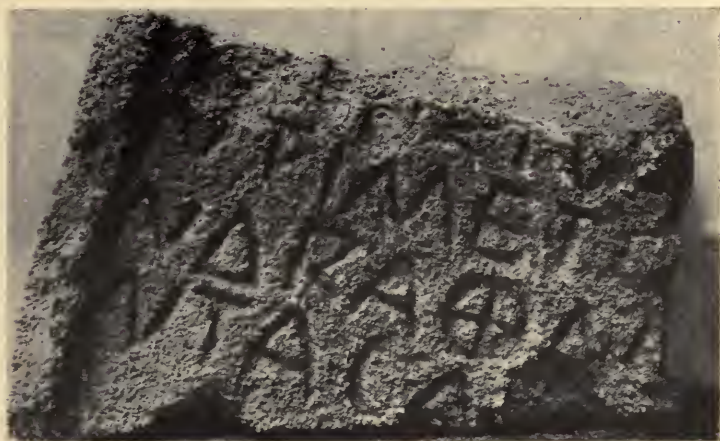


FIG. 67.—Archaic Greek inscription.

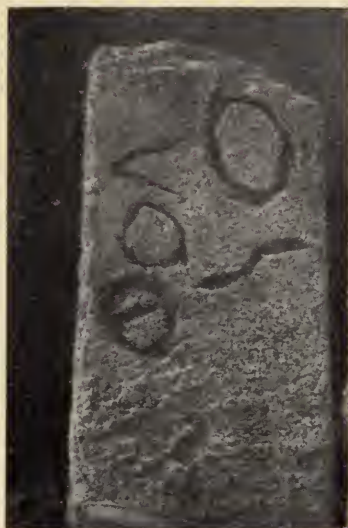


FIG. 68.—Archaic Greek inscription.

(b) (Fig. 68.) This inscription, also in archaic Greek, is in a still more fragmentary state than the preceding one,

¹ Cf. Professor E. Gabrici, "Selinunte e Motye—Frammenti epigrafici," *Not. Scavi*, 1917, pp. 347 and 348.

showing only five characters. It is on a sandstone block measuring 0.85 m. by 0.37 m. by 0.31 m., and was also found at the Birgi necropolis.¹

- (c) (Fig. 69.) An Arabic inscription on a small piece of dark limestone, cut to the shape shown in the figure, and



FIG. 69.—Arabic inscription.

measuring 0.18 m. by 0.10 m. by 0.5 m. The inscription appears to be from the Koran, and may be rendered as follows: "In the name of the merciful and compassionate God. Every life must taste of death. The reward is only attainable on the day of resurrection" (*Koran*, Susa iii, N. 182).²

¹ Cf. Professor E. Gabrici, *loc. cit.*

² Cf. Amari, *Le epigrafi Arabe di Sicilia*, pars i. p. 131, No. xli., tav. xi., fig. 3.



FIG. 70.—Phœnician inscription (Lilybæum).

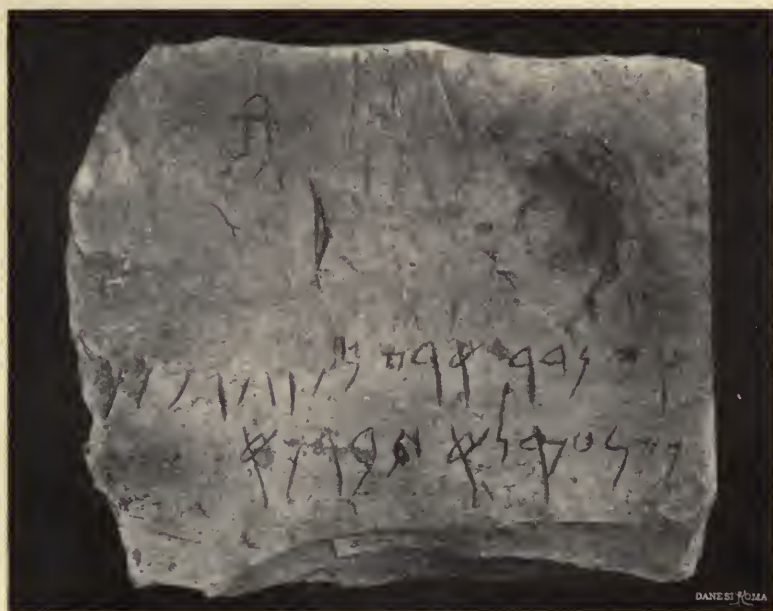


FIG. 71.—Phœnician inscription (Lilybæum).

- (d) (Fig. 70.) A Phœnician inscription from Lilybæum. This inscription, which is on a small fragment of stone, with an ornamented border on the upper part, has been translated by Professor Gregorio Ugdulena thus : "*Magnæ Thanith et domino nostro, Baal Hammon, quod novit . . . rth filius R*." It would appear to be a votive inscription to the two chief Phœnician deities.¹
- (e) (Fig. 71.) Another Phœnician inscription from Lilybæum, on a small piece of soft stone, which, to judge from a slight hollow worn in it, had evidently been used to support the post of a small gate placed on it. The inscription has been thus translated by Professor Guidi : "*Quod vovit Ares filius . . . quia audivit vocem ejus, benedicat ei*," that is to say, "which (the monument) Ares, son of . . . has dedicated, since he listened to his (or her) voice (the divinity)." Apparently the inscription must have been surmounted by the figure of some divinity.

INSCRIPTIONS ON LEAD

Among the inscriptions preserved in the Motya Museum are two on thin plates or scrolls of lead, which are said to have been found in the Lilybæum necropolis, on the north side of the present town of Marsala. The inscriptions are incised somewhat roughly with a sharp-pointed instrument, and appear to be mostly, though not all, in Neo-Punic characters. They have not, so far, been translated, but are probably of the usual comminatory kind so often found in sepulchres. Similar inscriptions on lead have apparently frequently been met with in the ancient cemeteries of Greece and Italy (*cf.* Audollent, *Defixionum tabellæ*, Paris, 1904).²

VASES AND TERRACOTTA

As in the case of most other ancient peoples, so also among the Phœnicians, there can be little doubt that the use of sun-dried clay for building purposes, as well as for household vessels, must

¹ Cf. A. Salinas, *Rassegna archeologica Siciliana*, p. 8 (Palermo, 1871).

² A detailed description and a figure of one of the above lead scrolls from Lilybæum are given in a recently published work by the Marchese Antonio De Gregorio (*Studi archeologici Iconografici*, Palermo, 1917).

have given place at an early date to that of fire-baked clay. At the same time, however, it is probable that, as in Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia, naturally dried and hardened clay continued to be employed by the Phœnicians for some time after the introduction of fire-baked clay and contemporaneously with it.

Sun-dried or unburnt bricks appear to have been largely used in Syria. According to Professor Flinders Petrie,¹ they were employed in the construction of the fortification walls of Lachish in Palestine, which was probably founded in the seventeenth century B.C., and they were no doubt similarly used in other Amorite towns.

At Carthage unburnt bricks seem to have been commonly employed, both in the construction of habitations as well as in the walls of other buildings. In the early necropolis of Douimès some of the tomb-shafts have been found strengthened with such bricks, measuring 48 cm. by 32 cm. by 10 cm.

At Motya unburnt bricks are to be met with in considerable quantity, and portions of the ramparts of the fortifications are constructed in great part of them. These crude bricks, as they may be called, are mostly of one shape and size, measuring about 46 cm. by 28 cm. by 10 cm. Their colour varies according to the quality of the clay of which they are composed, and examples of different shades of grey, reddish, and yellowish are preserved in the museum.

Turning now to fictile or moulded terracotta, although the Phœnicians may not perhaps have excelled in ceramics as they did in some other industrial arts, there can be no doubt that they manufactured a very considerable quantity of pottery, and that they carried on an extensive trade in this ware with other parts of the Mediterranean, as well as with countries beyond that sea. From Strabo² we learn that, together with other merchandise, they carried earthenware vessels as far north as the Scilly Isles, in exchange for tin and other metals; while Scylax³ tells us that they dealt in pottery with the natives of the west coast of Africa.

The class of pottery produced in Phœnicia itself may not, perhaps,

¹ Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Tell el Hesi (Lachish)*, p. 21.

² Strabo, III. v. 2.

³ Scylax, *Periplus*, 112.

have been of the finest quality, but it was no doubt of a description well suited for all domestic purposes, and one which was probably superior to much of the earthenware produced in those early days.

In addition, however, to manufacturing and exporting pottery of their own, the Phœnicians no doubt imported a considerable quantity of earthenware from Egypt and Assyria which was of a quality superior to that made by themselves, and much of this was probably carried by their trading vessels to other parts of the Mediterranean, thus bringing about a diffusion of such ware.

From the two countries just mentioned Phœnicia is supposed to have learned two important branches of this industrial art—one, that of the painting of terracotta; the other, the art of enamelling it. The former they apparently acquired from Assyria, the latter from Egypt.

In this production of pottery Phœnicia's colonies in various parts of the Mediterranean will probably not have been slow in following the example of the mother-country, and those of more importance will doubtless have had their baking kilns and made their own rough pottery, though probably, at the same time, importing a superior quality of ware from abroad.

At Motya, as in some other settlements, the manufacture of pottery probably came to be practised on the development of the colony from the mere trading station of its earlier days into a town of some consequence. As has already been mentioned,¹ evidence of the manufacture of at least a rough description of pottery on the island is not wanting. Clay of a sort is to be found on the island of Motya itself, though a superior quality is to be met with, and in greater abundance, at a spot near the sea-shore of the adjacent mainland, from whence, even at the present day, a considerable quantity of the material is obtained and used for making pottery.

So far there seems to be no evidence of any finer-class pottery having been manufactured at Motya, but such may yet be forthcoming, for it is not unreasonable to suppose that the ceramic art on this island, primitive as it no doubt was in its infancy, may in course of time have developed and become more perfected as the

¹ *Vide ante*, Part II. Chapter IV.

colony grew in size and the town came more and more under Greek influence.

As mentioned in the preceding chapter, treating of the Motyan cemeteries, most of the pottery found in the tombs, both on the island and at Birgi, as well as that met with among the ruins of the old town, is of an unglazed and rather rude type of ware, either perfectly plain or but simply ornamented with linear or geometrical designs painted on it, and which, for the reasons already given, may be taken to be of local manufacture. Besides this presumably native pottery, however, other ware of a superior class is to be met with, in certain quantity, at Motya, such as Greek and imitation of Greek figured vases, proto-Corinthian and other glazed or polished pottery, which, failing proof to the contrary, may be supposed to have been imported from abroad.

Apart from the few examples which may perhaps be assumed to belong to a prehistoric age, and some others which apparently date from a period or periods subsequent to the destruction of Motya, and which have doubtless been introduced by later temporary dwellers on the island, the pottery in the Motya Museum would seem to fall into two natural divisions or categories, and may be separated accordingly, one comprising the native or locally manufactured ware, the other that which, for the present, and as above stated, may be looked upon as having been imported by the Motyans from other countries, both categories, in their turn, being subject to further subdivision.

Adopting this division into two main categories, the classification of the vases and terracotta ware will be as follows :—

CATEGORY I

Native or Locally Manufactured Pottery

- A. Unglazed and unvarnished pottery of an ordinary description, either entirely without ornamentation or merely decorated with simple linear or geometrical designs, painted on it, comprising all fictile vases used either for domestic purposes or for burials.
- B. Pottery and terracotta ware of a quality similar to the preceding or of a coarser description, comprising amphoræ

- and other jars and vessels of large size which were used chiefly for storing provisions, both solid and liquid, as also water and drain pipes and perhaps flat tiles for house roofs.
- C. Small terracotta articles of domestic use, such as loom-weights, fishing-net weights, spindle-whorls, and rudely made figurines.

CATEGORY II

Imported Pottery

- A. Corinthian, proto-Corinthian, and other early Greek vases, comprising perhaps also some from the Ægean Islands and possibly also from Cumæ.
- B. Attic. Black-figured pottery.
- C. Attic. Red-figured pottery.
- D. Attic and imitation of Attic black-varnished pottery.
- E. South Italian black-varnished and other pottery with white ornamentation, palmette, ivy leaves, and similar decoration.
- F. Etruscan *Bucchero*.
- G. Egyptian or imitation of Egyptian enamelled pottery.
- H. Rhodian amphoræ handles with stamps.
- I. Unglazed terracotta.

Before dealing with the sections of each category in detail, it may be stated that by far the greater portion of the pottery preserved in the museum, which may be supposed to be of native or local manufacture, comes from the early-period necropolis which has been discovered on the island itself. Comparatively little of this pottery has been, so far, met with elsewhere, either on the island of Motya itself or at Birgi. This is perhaps not surprising, for, apart from the fact of the burial-grounds of ancient towns supplying most of the material for study, and forming, as a rule, our chief source of knowledge and enlightenment regarding such towns, little exploration has indeed yet been carried out at Motya, except at the necropolis and in the immediate neighbourhood of the sea-shore. Few dwelling-houses comparatively have as yet been brought to light, and among the ruins of those few, though numerous

fragments and sherds of pottery have been found, hardly a single vase of any importance has been discovered.

In the Birgi necropolis one might have expected to meet with more of this native pottery, but unfortunately the greater part of the tombs which have been brought to light there appear to have been visited at some previous period, and their contents, in most cases, have been completely rifled.

In the preceding chapter on the Motyan cemeteries reference at some length has been made to the pottery found both at Motya and at Birgi, and specially to that found in the early island necropolis, which is chiefly of this class of ware. At the conclusion of that chapter a detailed description has been given of some of the tombs and their contents, together with illustrations of some of the groups of vases forming the cremation burials, as found *in situ*.

Other illustrations, however, will be given here, showing more clearly the several different types of the Motyan unglazed pottery preserved in the museum.

CATEGORY I

Native or Locally Manufactured Pottery

Subdivision A.—(Fig. 72.) Various types of vases which were used at Motya as cinerary urns and in which cremated remains have been found. Of these vases, the globular-shaped urns would seem to have been those most in use for holding the bones and ashes of the dead, and possibly this type of vase may have served solely and exclusively for burial purposes, and not for domestic or other uses.

These globular vases, which are either of a brick-red, darker or lighter in shade, or of a pale yellowish colour and occasionally whitish,¹ vary somewhat in size, the larger, as a rule, having double handles and the smaller being single-handled. The mouth orifice of the vases is always small in proportion to the size of the vase, as is also the base on which they stand. They are often ornamented with some simple pattern, formed either by lines, straight or undulating, or by a plain geometrical design, painted with the brush, round the belly and shoulders of the vase, the decoration, in some cases, extending to the neck and handles, and even to the

¹ The colour depends to a great extent on the baking of the pottery.

cover or lid of the urn. Some of the more elaborately ornamented examples show triglyphs, with metopes adorned by clepsydræ.

Although, as already mentioned,¹ somewhat similar vases appear to have been found in some of the early Sicilian tombs, as also perhaps at Cyprus and elsewhere, no exact counterpart of this type would seem, so far, to have been met with in any other ancient necropolis, and we may perhaps therefore be justified in looking upon these globular urns as peculiar to Motya.

(Figs. 73 and 74.) Numerous different types of smaller vases, the greater part of which are found in the tombs, placed around the central urns containing cremated remains, and of which probably most, if not all, though used, as we have seen, in burials, will have served also, and probably chiefly, for general domestic or household purposes. The greater part of these vases—"furniture vases," as they may be called—are to be found more or less abundantly in the tombs; others are less common, while a few of the types are seldom to be met with. It is interesting to find among these locally manufactured vases some which are evidently copied from imported ware of a finer description. These examples, however, can always be distinguished by their thicker walls and coarser quality, as well as by their being without glaze or polish.

A certain number of these vases would seem to be peculiar to Motya, or rather to Motya and Carthage, that is to say, to the earlier Carthaginian cemeteries, as also perhaps to Sardinia.²

In the preceding chapter attention has been drawn to the analogy existing between the pottery of our Motyan cemeteries and that found in the early Carthaginian necropolis of Douimès, as also, though in a minor degree, to that of the somewhat later Punic necropolis of Dermech.³ Both these Carthaginian cemeteries would seem to have been contemporaneous in date with our Motyan necropoles, whereas the later Punic cemeteries, such as those of Ard-el-Kheraib and the Hill of St Monica, have little or nothing in common with the Motyan cemeteries, though probably much with the, so far, but little explored necropolis of Lilybæum.

¹ *Vide ante*, Part II. Chapter VII.

² A vase figured in Patroni's work on Nora in Sardinia (plate xv.) very closely resembles, if, indeed, it be not identical with, the Motyan mushroom-topped vases.

³ *Vide ante*, Part II. Chapter VII.



FIG. 72.—Cinerary urns from Motya.



FIG. 73.—Early pottery from Motya.

Thus, for instance, the spindle-shaped or long-tailed amphoræ, the *urnes à queue* of the French ;¹ the *askoi*,² or feeding-bottle-shaped vases ; the French *vases à biberon* and the *unguentaria*, all so abundantly met with in the later Carthaginian cemeteries, and which are almost entirely absent from our early Motyan tombs, would seem to be commonly met with at Lilybæum, and examples of all of them from that necropolis are preserved in the Motya Museum. None of the Lilybæum examples of spindle-shaped vases, however, so far found, appear to bear an inscription, as do many of the Carthaginian specimens. Apparently the only example of a vase with a Phœnician inscription that has thus far been met with in Sicily is the jug that was found at Palermo several years ago, and which was formerly preserved in the Jesuit College collection. Unfortunately, this vase has since disappeared.³

Of the types of vases which would appear to be peculiar to Motya and the early Punic cemeteries, the following may be mentioned as specially worthy of notice :—

- (a) A single-handled, elongated pear-shaped vase, tapering at the top to a small trilobed mouth, the handle being of considerable length and ribbed or grooved.
- (b) A single-handled, bottle-shaped vase, with a flat mushroom-like mouth-top, the handle small and rounded.
- (c) A single-handled, bottle-shaped vase, with straight sides and a large concave mouth-top, the handle larger.

One example would seem to come between the two last-named types, its handle and sides being as in type *b*, while its mouth is as in type *c*.

The above three types are all to be found in different sizes, varying in height from 17 to 28 cm., and varying also somewhat in their colouring. The elongated pyriform vase, however, is

¹ The spindle-shaped vases, judging from the fact of their being so abundantly met with in all the later Punic burials, would seem to have been specially used for funeral purposes. They probably served for carrying liquids, and were no doubt held by the hand in an upright position when conveyed to the sepulchre, and deposited in some corner or against a wall of the chamber.

² The *askos* is apparently so called from its resemblance in shape to the *otre*, or goat-skins, commonly used in South Europe for the carriage of liquids, and specially that of oil.

³ Cf. *Cor. Ins. Sem.*, No. 133, p. lxxvii.

nearly always to be found painted over entirely with a dull reddish coating, very soft to the touch, this being possibly due to an extra dose of oil in the colour mixture. Occasionally this type of vase is found uncoloured, but not often.

The bottle-shaped vases, type *b*, are also coated over with a soft unctuous paint, but not of one uniform colour throughout, as in the preceding type. They are usually found painted with dark bands on a lighter ground.



FIG. 74.—Motyan pottery.

Père Delattre, when speaking of a handsome, if not unique, vase discovered by him in 1903, when in the company of the late Professor Salinas of Palermo, then on a visit to Carthage, makes special mention of this soft velvety coating, which in the case of that particular vase was of a yellowish colour.¹

In addition to the vases so far spoken of as having been found in the tombs of the early Motyan necropolis, there are a few others of different types, which were found in or near the sarcophagi discovered at the north gateway. These are no doubt of a later date (fig. 75).

Besides these there are some others, also of a late date, which

¹ R. P. Delattre, *Une visite à la nécropole des Rabs*, 1906, p. 42.

have been found in the recently discovered burial-ground, or repository for the remains of sacrificed offerings (figs. 76 and 77).

Before concluding this notice of the smaller native pottery, it may be observed that, although no lamps, either Punic or Greek, have been found in the Motyan cemeteries, a few of both have been met with among the ruins of buildings at Motya. The Punic "bicorn" lamps that have been found are of a rough description of pottery and are undoubtedly of native manufacture. The Greek lucernæ are of black varnished ware. Besides these, a few Roman lamps have been met with, no doubt brought by dwellers on the island subsequent to the destruction of Motya.

Subdivision B.—This class includes all the larger terracotta ware preserved in the Motya Museum, such as amphoræ and other vessels of large size which would appear to have served chiefly for holding and transporting liquids and solids, such as water, wine, oil, honey, corn, and dates (figs. 78 and 79). It also includes water and drain pipes and house-roof tiles.

The numerous examples of large amphoræ which have been recovered from the bottom of the sea around the coasts of Sicily tell their tale of wrecks and foundered ships, laden with goods and produce, and of lost cargoes of the vases themselves, which doubtless formed an important article of commerce.¹

Some of these large amphoræ are made of a good quality of clay, similar to that used in the construction of the smaller vases, while others are of a much coarser quality and make.

As already stated, there is no doubt as to this earthenware having been produced at Motya itself, evidence of its manufacture on the spot having been afforded by the remains that have been found on the island in various stages of composition and preparation.

Of the long cylindrical jars with a pointed base, not intended to stand upright, several different types are to be found in the museum. The vases vary in measurement from 1·10 m. to 0·72 m. in length, and from 0·83 m. to 0·47 m. in girth at the widest part. Some have long necks and long handles, others short necks and

¹ Many such vases have been found from time to time in the present harbour and roads of Marsala, as well as in the deeper water of the Stagnone.



FIG. 75.—Later types of pottery.



FIG. 76.—Later pottery.



FIG. 77.—Later pottery.

small handles. Two of these vases have small handles placed very low down on the vase, and are of an uncommon type. They were found on the small island of Santa Maria, and are unfortunately in a much damaged state. The grooving found round some of the amphoræ was probably made for the purpose of holding the vessels more securely and in order to prevent them slipping from one's hands, or it may have been to enable them to be bound with cords for transport. It can hardly have been for ornament.

Of the shorter and rounder amphoræ there are four different types in the collection. They measure from 0.65 m. to 0.45 m. in length and from 1.25 m. to 0.90 m. in girth.

These amphoræ are generally made of a finer quality of earthenware and are better finished than the cylindrical ones.

Three large *pithoi* were discovered among the ruins of the House of the Mosaics, and were allowed to remain *in situ*. Two of them are larger than the third, and measure as much as 4.50 m. in girth, while the third measures 3 m. in girth. Unfortunately, the necks and upper portions of these three vases are broken, but the height of none of them can have been less than at least one metre.

Another vase of fairly large proportions was found in the early Motyan cemetery, with cremated remains in it. It is now preserved in the museum, and is of a type apparently uncommon here, being, in fact, the only one of its kind so far found. It has four small projections on its sides, serving as handles, and measures 0.78 m. in height and 1.80 m. in girth at its widest part (fig. 80).

Of closed earthenware water-pipes two types have been found, both tubular and apparently on the same principle as regards their mode of connection. In dimensions they differ, however, considerably, one measuring 0.77 m. in length and 0.20 m. in diameter, while the other measures 0.38 m. in length and 0.09 m. in diameter.

Of open gutter- or drain-pipes numerous examples have been found, apparently all of the same semicylindrical type, together with examples of the square concave gutters, with a hole in the middle for carrying off the water underground.



FIG. 78.—Large amphoræ.



FIG. 79.—Large amphoræ.

Of flat roof-tiles, or *tegulae*, many fragments are also to be found among the ruins of buildings. They are of two types, one with low broad flanges on two opposite sides, the other with narrow



FIG. 80.—Cinerary urn of unusual form.

vertical flanges. The only example intact, which is of the first type, measures 63 cm. by 54 cm. by 3 cm. The quality of earthenware used in these tiles varies, being finer in some cases than in others, and this may lead one to suppose that some have been imported, while others are of native manufacture.

Some of the tiles bear a device or letters stamped upon them,

no doubt the makers' marks. Rosettes appear to be the most common, but one shows a dog's head (fig. 81).

Terracotta roof-tiles appear to have been largely employed in Greece in the early days, when wood was much used in constructions. Many temples and other buildings of importance seem to have been thus roofed. The Heraion at Olympia apparently possesses the oldest known example of terracotta roofing.

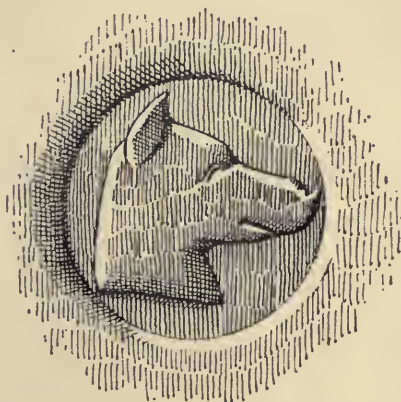


FIG. 81.—Stamp on a roof-tile.

Subdivision C.—This class comprises the small unornamented objects found among the ruins of Motya which may be supposed to have been made on the island itself. They are chiefly articles of domestic use, such as loom and fishing-net weights.

Whether the terracotta whorls which have been met with on the island may have formed part of primitive necklaces, and relics of a prehistoric age, as mentioned in the early part of this chapter, or whether they were merely spindle-whorls or net-weights, as the large size of some of them might lead one to think, it is not easy to say, but in either case it seems probable that they were manufactured on the island itself.

The same may perhaps be supposed of a few very roughly fashioned hand-made figurines (fig. 82), possibly intended for images or idols of worship, which have been found on the island, and should no doubt be included in this category.

The loom-weights (fig. 83) that have been found at Motya are many and varied. They are mostly of terracotta, but there are a few which are of stone and marble. The weights are of various shapes and sizes, the truncated pyramidal form, however, largely predominating. Some are of a circular shape, others square, and a few are conical.

Many of the weights bear a mark or impression of some kind



FIG. 82.—Roughly made figurines.

on them, some being stamped with a die, while others are marked with cross lines, pricked out in small dots, and in one or two cases a human full face is stamped on them. These may perhaps not be of local manufacture, but of foreign importation.

In the collection are four examples of the usual truncated pyramidal form, two of which are stuck together and were evidently not completed. They were found by the side of what would seem to have been a baking kiln, and afford almost certain proof as to the manufacture of these loom-weights on the spot.

Naturally, no traces are to be found of the wooden looms which



FIG. 83.—Loom and fishing-net weights.

may be supposed to have been used at Motya, but they were presumably of the ancient vertical type.¹

Meanwhile, there can be little doubt as to the textile industry having been carried on and flourishing at Motya, and, if we are to judge from the large number of loom-weights that have been met with all over the island, we must conclude that it was practised on a large scale.

Diodorus, speaking of the booty carried off by the Greeks after the capture of Motya, makes special mention of the rich and costly garments that formed an important item of it.²

Whether the celebrated dye, or Tyrian purple, was also obtained on the island and used for colouring the woven fabrics manufactured there, one cannot say, though it is quite likely that it was so, as the *Murex*, both *M. trunculus* and *M. brandaris*, is not at all uncommon in this part of the Mediterranean, and on the shores of Motya itself. The *Buccinum* (*B. lapillus*), another dye-yielding shell-fish, also appears to be abundant on the Sicilian coasts. One of the Ægatian Islands, Phorbantia, the present island of Levanzo, appears to have been called at times also by the name of Buccina.

CATEGORY II

Imported Pottery

We now come to the second main category, that comprising all the pottery in the museum which may be assumed to have been imported by the Motyans from abroad, no evidence of its manufacture on the island having, so far, been met with, or sufficient reason existing to justify us in supposing any of it to have been produced here. This pottery includes all the glazed, polished, or varnished ceramic ware, either plain or figured, that exists in the collection, the great part of which, for the present at least, may be looked upon as being of either Greek or South Italian origin. It also includes some unglazed or unpolished earthenware, other

¹ A good illustration of one of these primitive looms is given in the British Museum *Guide to the Iron Age*, p. 139, fig. 128.

² Diod., xiv. 52.

than actual vases, which, failing evidence to the contrary, must also be regarded as having been imported.

Whether future exploration at Motya may eventually furnish proof of some of this pottery, in its simpler or less advanced forms, having been manufactured on the island, one cannot say, though it is not unlikely that such may prove to be the case, seeing that in other parts of Sicily examples of a well-developed local ceramic art have been met with. Among these may be mentioned the fine relief-work pottery which appears without doubt to have been produced at Centuripe, as well as some figured ware which has been obtained in other parts of the Etnæan region and some vases from Lipari, one of which latter, preserved in the Mandralisca Lyceum collection at Cefalu, represents a scene typical of the Sicilian sea-coast, viz. a sale of tunny-fish.¹ All these specimens are of a far more advanced type than the rough pottery known as geometrico-Siculo ware, made by some of the earlier inhabitants of Sicily, and beyond the production of which, according to a widely entertained opinion, the Sicilian potters' art is not supposed to have aspired.

One can, however, hardly believe that, with the beautiful types of classic Greek ceramic art constantly before his eyes—for much of this pottery must have been imported into the island either direct from Greece or through continental Italy,—the Sicilian potter will have been content to sit still and not have attempted to produce, at least, a ware resembling that manufactured by the Græco-Italian towns of the south of the peninsula. Some of the Sicilian potters, moreover, would seem to have been in the habit of visiting these last-mentioned towns, and to have maintained constant intercourse with them. Undoubtedly pottery in imitation of the Greek classic ware must have been produced on a large scale in some of the South Italian towns, and thence exported to all the neighbouring seaports at a minimum cost; but, even admitting this, one may still venture to think that, although perhaps the develop-

¹ Cf. Professor P. Orsi, *Roem. Mitteil.*, xiii. 305 *seqq.*, xxiv. 59 *seqq.*; Professor A. Pace, *Arti ed artisti della Sicilia antica*, pp. 134-143; Professor G. M. Columba, *I Porti della Sicilia*, p. 26.

A fine specimen of a Centuripe *kissybion* is preserved in the Palermo National Museum, and fragments of other examples are to be found in the British Museum.



FIG. 84 —Proto-Corinthian or Early Greek pottery.

ramic industrial art may not have been general or throughout Sicily, it may nevertheless have been



FIG. 85.—Proto-Corinthian or Early Greek.



FIG. 86.—Proto-Corinthian or Early Greek.

introduced into certain districts, specially the more eastern, and flourished there for a considerable time.

Thus also at Motya, though situated on the opposite side of

Sicily, it is probable that constant and direct communication with the continent, by means of Phœnician vessels, may have existed, and that the inhabitants of the important and wealthy colony—under the influence which, in all matters relating to art, was apparently largely exercised by the Greek element resident among them—may have taken up and practised the new and improved branch of pottery.



FIG. 88.—Attic ware. Black figures on red.

Pending, however, a confirmation of such development in Motyan ceramics having actually occurred, the classification of the imported pottery in the museum will be as follows :—

Subdivision A.—Corinthian, proto-Corinthian, and other early-date pottery, comprising perhaps examples from the Ægean Islands and possibly also from Cumæ.

Of this pottery there are numerous examples from the early cremation tombs of the necropolis at Motya, but none from Birgi (figs. 84–87).

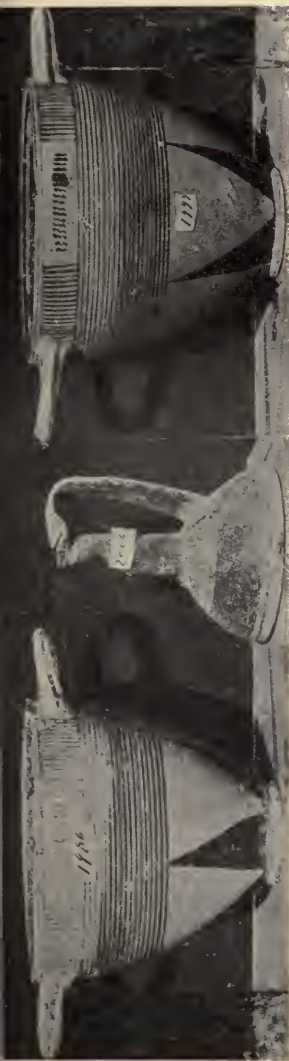


FIG. 87.—Proto-Corinthian or Early Greek.



FIG. 91.—Attic. Red figures.



FIG. 90.—Attic. Black figures.

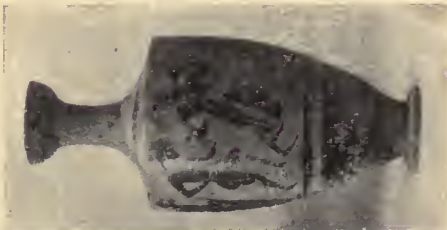


FIG. 89.—Attic. Black figures.



As already stated, the occurrence of this early-period pottery in the cremation tombs of the Motya necropolis enables us to fix the date of the cemetery between 750 and 650 B.C., but, for all we know, it may have been in use a good deal earlier, and it may also have continued to be used somewhat later, or possibly until the end of the seventh century.

Subdivision B.—Attic. Black figures on red ground.

There is only one example of this pottery in the museum from the early Motya necropolis, though there are more from the Birgi cemetery, and many fragments have been found among the ruins of Motya (figs. 88–90).



FIG. 92.—Attic. Red figures.

The example from the Motya necropolis was obtained from one of the few sarcophagi found in that cemetery, which we have supposed to be among the very latest burials effected in that site.

Subdivision C.—Attic. Red figures on black ground.

No example of this pottery has been obtained from the early Motya necropolis, but several have been found at Birgi, as well as among the ruins at Motya. Numerous fragments have been found both at Motya and at Birgi (figs. 91 and 92).

Subdivision D.—Attic and imitation of Attic black-varnished pottery.

A single specimen of this, a fine *kylix* intact, was found in the early Motya necropolis, in a sarcophagus, together with two other vases of unglazed native manufacture.



FIG. 93.—Attic and imitation of Attic. Black varnished.

A good many examples of this pottery have been found in the Birgi necropolis and among the ruins at Motya, though mostly in fragments (fig. 93).

Subdivision E.—South Italian black-varnished pottery, and pottery decorated with white lines, ivy leaves, palmette and other similar



FIG. 94.—South Italian.



FIG. 95.—South Italian.

ornamentation, as also fish-plates and *rhyta* or drinking-horns (figs. 94–98).

So much of this pottery appears to have been found at Motya and Birgi that one cannot help thinking that some of it may have been manufactured in Sicily, if not even at Motya itself.¹

¹ MM. Merlin and Drapier, writing of the highly glazed black pottery found in the later cemeteries of Carthage, speak of it as having been received either from South Italy or Sicily (*La nécropole punique d'Ard-el-Kheraib*, 1909).

Subdivision F.—Etruscan Bucchero.

A single example of this pottery has been, so far, found in the early necropolis of Motya, and another in that at Birgi (fig. 99).



FIG. 96.—South Italian.



FIG. 97.—South Italian.

Subdivision G.—Egyptian or imitation of Egyptian enamelled pottery or faience.

A single example of this, a handsome greenish-blue alabastron, has been found in a tomb of the early necropolis at Motya.¹ This

¹ See frontispiece to the volume.

vase, a description of which is given in the preceding chapter, would appear to be the only specimen of this enamelled ware so far recorded from Sicily.



FIG. 98.—South Italian.



FIG. 99.—Etruscan Bucchero.

Originating in Egypt, this mixture of earthen and glass ware, as it really is, was plentifully manufactured at Cameiros, in the island of Rhodes, and possibly elsewhere in the Eastern Mediter-

anean, but it does not appear to have been of common occurrence much further west.

Subdivision H.—Rhodian amphoræ, stamped handles.

Of these one only has, so far, been met with at Motya. The stamp on it is of a rectangular and oblong shape, and bears the following words: Ἐπὶ Γόργωνος Ὑακινθίου.

Though apparently uncommon at Motya, several of these stamped handles from Lilybæum are preserved in the Motya



FIG. 100.—Terracotta ornaments.

Museum. Most of them appear to be Rhodian, with rectangular stamps of different makers, while others have circular impressions with the usual rose or pomegranate emblem.

Besides these undoubtedly Rhodian handles, however, there are a few others in the museum, also with circular stamps, but of an inferior quality of clay and with less clearly defined impressions. These may be of Sicilian manufacture.¹

Subdivision I.—Ornamental unglazed terracotta articles, such as statuettes or figurines, masks, disks, and other relief work.

¹ Cf. B. Pace, "Bolli fittili dell' antico Lilibeo," *Not. Scavi*, 1919, p. 351.



Fig. 101.—Terracotta figurines.

Figs. 100 and 101 show the few objects of this kind that have been found at Motya and Birgi and are preserved in the museum. Among them is a disk with a Medusa's head on it, which is possibly that referred to by Baron Alagna as having been found in the year 1793.¹

No statuettes appear, so far, to have been met with in the early necropolis at Motya, and but few have been found at Birgi.



FIG. 102.—Terracotta. Mother Goddess.

A certain number have been obtained among the ruins of buildings and in the loose soil at Motya, though what are chiefly found are the detached heads of the figurines.²

Of terracotta pedestals, or small columns, numerous remains have been met with at Motya, though they are chiefly in fragments. Although, as already mentioned, the remains of such pedestals in marble and stone have also been found on the island, those in terracotta are far more numerous. They are, for

¹ *Vide ante*, Part II., Chapter I.

² Mention may here be made of a fairly large-sized terracotta statue from Lilybæum which is preserved in the Motya Museum. It is of a seated female figure, evidently intended to represent the Mother Goddess (fig. 102). It measures 0.45 m. in height, 0.22 m. in breadth, and 0.22 m. in depth, and resembles somewhat a figure of this goddess shown by Perrot et Chipiez (*op. cit.*, iii.).

the most part, coated over with stucco, or a colour-wash of a pale yellow tint.

Numerous fragments have also been found of what would appear to have been large circular basins of some kind, possibly lavers, or *λουτήρια*, which may have been placed on pedestals like those just mentioned. These fragments bear most artistic designs stamped upon them in low relief (fig. 103).

From the style and workmanship of this ware, as well as from the fact of no matrices of any of this work having been found at Motya, one is led to conclude that it was imported, and not made on the island itself, though the latter fact alone would not, of course, be sufficient argument against it, as the dies or rollers were probably very few in number.

Not the least interesting among the ornamented terracotta objects found at Motya are the *arulæ*, which, although not a Phœnician product, would none the less appear to have been fairly abundant at Motya. *Arulæ* would seem to have been a speciality of Greek Italy and Greek Sicily.

In appearance diminutive altars, generally of a rectangular and oblong shape, open below and hollow within, and ornamented with stamped moulding in relief, they were indeed probably intended to represent altars, and the name *arula* which has been applied to them is no doubt an appropriate one. They are also called *arulette* and *arette*.

The purpose of *arulæ* is not quite clear, but there can be little doubt as to it having been a religious one, for apparently *arulæ* were used in funeral rites and ceremonies, as well as being placed in sanctuaries and similar holy places, as *ex voto* offerings. Occasionally they seem to have been even used in the actual construction of a tomb,¹ though they were no doubt more often employed for the external decoration of sepulchres. From the numerous fragmentary remains that have been met with in some cases, it may be thought that the *arulæ*, after having served their purpose in funeral ceremonies, were then purposely broken up and their remains strewn on the spot.

Besides being met with in burial-grounds and sanctuaries,

¹ Cf. Professor P. Orsi, *Not. Scavi*, 1917, p. 115.



FIG. 103.—Fragments of ornamental basins.

arulæ, however, are also to be found in dwelling-houses.¹ Whether they were there used as pedestals or bases for supporting statuettes or other objects, as thought by some, it is not easy to say, though apparently examples have been found with a circular depression on their upper surface, which fact might perhaps lead one to suppose they may have been thus used.²

None of the arulæ found at Motya, however, or, so far as we know, elsewhere in Sicily, show any such depression on their upper surface.

The theory held by some archæologists as to arulæ having formed part of architectural ornamentation can hardly be entertained. The holes which are to be found traversing the two sides of some of the larger-sized arulæ have been looked upon³ as having been made with the object of a bar being passed through them, in order to hold several pieces together as a frieze; but it seems far more probable that these holes were made as ventilators, for tempering the degree of heat during the process of baking in the kiln, as also, perhaps, in order to allow of the arulæ being lifted and carried more conveniently with both hands. The holes, which are generally roughly made, are more or less circular in shape, and measure from 4 to 6 cm. in diameter. Apparently they are only to be found in some of the larger-sized arulæ, and not in the smaller examples which are capable of being easily lifted and held in one hand. The Motyan arulæ are all of small size and are without holes, but some of the Sicilian examples preserved in the Palermo Museum, which are larger, have them.

A good many arulæ have been met with at Motya, among the ruins of habitations and other constructions, the greater part of them in a more or less fragmentary state, though a few are well preserved. None appear to have been so far found in either of the two cemeteries. The arulæ found at Motya seem to be mostly of one type, and are of a rectangular and oblong shape, with projecting borders above and below, their picture designs depicting

¹ Cf. Professor P. Orsi, *Caulonia*, p. 114.

² Cf. E. Douglas van Buren, "Terracotta Arulæ," *Mem. Am. Acad. Rome*, 1918, p. 3.

³ Jatta, *Cat. Mus. Ruvo*, p. 47.

hunting scenes and combats between animals or mythological creatures, such as griffins and centaurs, the former, however, being the commoner. Centaurs, indeed, are not often met with on arulæ, although associated with sepulchres and, by Virgil, represented as abiding at the gates of the Infernal Regions.¹ Some have designs on both front and back, others only on the front, while others again



FIG. 104.—Motyan arulæ.

show no design whatever, but have merely ornamented borders (figs. 104 and 105).² None have, so far, been met with here showing designs on all four sides, as found in Calabria,³ nor, as already mentioned, have any been found at Motya equal in size to those

¹ *Æneid*, vi. 286.

² A fragment of an arula in the collection, which is said to have been found at Motya, shows what would appear to be part of a human face, and ornamentation not met with in other examples.

³ Cf. Professor P. Orsi, *Caulonia*, p. 109.

met with in some other parts of Sicily, of which examples are preserved in the Palermo Museum, measuring between 30 and 36 cm. in length. None of the Motya arulæ seem to measure more than 23 to 25 cm. in length. They are, in many cases, entirely coated over, even to the hollow interior, with a colour-wash, usually of a cream or grey tint, though several examples are also met with which do not show signs of this colour-wash. The clay of which they are made varies considerably, being at times either reddish, yellowish, or grey, and occasionally even blackish.

Although no matrices of arulæ have, so far, been met with at Motya, and there can be but little doubt as to their having, in the first instance at least, been imported from elsewhere, it is quite possible that, in course of time, this terracotta relief work may have come to be manufactured on the island itself.

The date of the Motyan arulæ cannot, naturally, be later than the fifth century B.C., or the very beginning of the fourth century, when the colony ceased to exist.

Arulæ of this type, apparently one of the earliest forms used, appear to have been met with only in Sicily and the extreme southern portion of the Italian peninsula, and there can be but little doubt that the invention and use of this ornamented ware originated with the Greek colonists of the above-mentioned region and formed a speciality of the country. Arulæ of this type are apparently not to be met with, however, in Greece itself, though another and probably later form has been found at Delphi; nor have we any knowledge of their occurrence elsewhere, those met with near Rome and in the more northern portion of South Italy being also apparently of a different and later type.

In Sicily the manufacture of arulæ seems to have undergone considerable change in course of time, as shown by a fine example, depicting a bull attacked by a lion, now preserved in the Syracuse Museum, in which an advanced stage of development is noticeable.¹

Mention may here be made of another Sicilian arula deserving of special notice. This is one of large size which was discovered at Selinunte on the 5th May 1905, and is now preserved in the

¹ Cf. E. D. van Buren, *op. cit.*, plate xvi.



FIG. 105.—Motyan arulæ.

Palermo Museum (fig. 106). Including its projecting borders, it measures 54.75 cm. in length, 32 cm. in breadth, and 46 cm. in height, and it has circular holes, 9 cm. in diameter, through the walls on each side. Its upper surface is not perfectly flat, as in most arulæ, but has its edges turned up on the front and sides,



FIG. 106.—Arula from Selinus.

thus forming, as it were, a tray at the top. It would seem to have been made to be placed against a wall, its back being without any projecting border, as on the front and sides.

Notwithstanding the mutilated state in which it was when first discovered, Professor Gabrici, to whom I am indebted for a photograph of it, has succeeded in restoring this arula to a considerable extent, and although the upper portion of the subject represented on it, including the heads of its two figures, is still wanting, sufficient remains to lead us to think that these two

figures may have represented Aurora and Cephalus. As suggested by Professor Pace,¹ it is quite possible that in this interesting relief we may have a reproduction, on a small scale, of the subject of one of the grand metopes of temple F at Selinus, unfortunately lost to us. This supposition, apart from the style of the work, is rendered the more plausible by comparison with another arula preserved in the Palermo Museum, showing a quadriga, which is a reproduction of a design on a metope in temple C at Selinus.

This large Selinuntine arula is apparently of the same type as the fine example discovered by Professor Orsi at Rosarno, the ancient Medma,² which, as stated by Professor Rizzo, in his excellent monograph on the subject,³ apart from being itself a handsome specimen of Greek plastic art, appears to be the only example so far known in which it is possible to recognise, with any degree of certainty, a derivation from a Greek tragedy, viz. Sophocles' *Tyro*.

The arula itself, a veritable small altar in terracotta, measures 0.73 m. in length, 0.32 m. in breadth, and 0.52 m. in height, and the scene depicted is Tyro's vindication and liberation by her twin sons, Pelias and Neleus. Although the Medma arula design was considerably damaged, it has been possible to reconstruct it, owing to its matrix having fortunately been found in some previous excavations at Rosarno.

Although not uncommon at Motya, arulae do not appear to have been met with at Carthage or on any other Phœnician or Punic site in North Africa, neither do we hear of any having been found in Sardinia.

Greek customs and Greek products had apparently not yet spread to Carthage when this early type of arula was in use, while Sardinia at no time seems to have been greatly affected by Hellenic influence, though having dealings with Greek Italy.

It was probably due to a lack of intercourse with the Greeks and an absence of Greek influence that Sardinia, though apparently in neolithic and eneolithic days possessed of a culture superior to that of Sicily, did not at a later period progress in civilisation

¹ B. Pace, *Arti ed artisti della Sicilia*, p. 53.

² P. Orsi, "Scavi di Calabria," *Not. Scavi*, 1913, p. 55; *ibid.*, 1917, p. 39.

³ G. E. Rizzo, "*Tyro*"-Basso-rilievo fittile di Medma, 1918.

as rapidly as the latter island, where Greek influence may be said to have reigned supreme.¹

Some of the designs found on arulæ, it is true, are favourite picture subjects with the Phœnicians, but they are common to other Eastern countries as well. That, for instance, of a bull attacked by lions appears to be most widely spread throughout the Mediterranean and the East.²

The Greek settlement of Caulonia in Calabria appears, so far, to have yielded a larger number of arulæ than any other ancient site, though many have been found also at Croton and Locri, other towns of Bruttium, and evidently the district must have been an important centre for the production of this particular ware.

According to Professor Orsi, these early arulæ embrace at least a century of chronological development, or a period dating from the middle of the sixth to the middle, or perhaps even to the end, of the fifth century B.C., and are distinctly Ionic in character.³

GLASS

If Egypt be the country to which we owe the invention of glass, it is to Phœnicia that must be given the credit of having perfected the quality of this important product, and of having encouraged its manufacture by a widespread diffusion of it among the nations and peoples with whom the Canaanite merchants and navigators had dealings.

As the traders *par excellence* of the Mediterranean and the carriers of wares and merchandise to almost every country on the borders of that sea and beyond it, the Phœnicians were probably the first to introduce glass articles among the inhabitants of those countries, and were no doubt looked upon by them as being the inventors of the useful and attractive novelty.

¹ Cf. A. Taramelli, *La necropoli neolitica di Anghelu Ruju*, Mon. Ant. Lin., 1909; P. Orsi, *Sepolcri Protosiculi di Gela*, p. 34.

² Cf. Th. L. Shear, "A Sculptured Basis from Loryma," *Am. Jour. Arch.*, 1914, p. 285.

³ Professor Orsi, *Caulonia*, p. 113.



FIG. 107.—Phoenician glass.

In many parts of the Syrian coast, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Sidon, a remarkably fine quality of sand seems to occur, which, added to the potash or soda also abundantly obtainable in that district, enabled the Phœnicians to produce a superior quality of glass. Apparently they manufactured glass of all descriptions, transparent and opaque, coloured and colourless, though the particular branch of this industry in which they excelled, and to which they devoted their chief attention, was that of small ornamental articles of variegated and multi-coloured glass, or glass-paste, as it is sometimes called. This ware, comprising vases of miniature size, amulets, beads, and other small objects, peculiar as it was to Phœnicia, is commonly known as Phœnician glass. Some specimens of the small vases are singularly beautiful, and remarkable for their graceful shape and colouring.

A small collection of these glass-paste vases and other ornamental glasswork is preserved in the Motya Museum, the greater part of the specimens having been obtained from the tombs either at Motya or at Birgi, though a few examples have been found also among the ruins of dwellings at Motya, the latter, however, being mostly in fragments.

The vases are chiefly miniature amphoræ, oinochoæ, and alabastra (fig. 107), while the other objects which have been met with of this ware consist of amulets, pendants, disks, and, above all, of beads for necklaces, which, though perhaps not intrinsically of much value, are nevertheless of considerable effect and of a certain beauty.

The necklaces (fig. 108), in addition to glass beads, are often made up in part of amber, pieces of black stone, amulets and charms, pierced with a hole for suspension, and they usually have a pendant of some kind in the centre.

The following is a short description of six of the necklaces found at Motya :—

- (a) A very short chain, composed of small glass beads and eight small pieces of black stone. It was found in a tomb at the north gateway.
- (b) A necklace formed of small chips of amber pierced, with a large iridescent glass bead as a pendant, also from the north gate tombs.



FIG. 108.—Phœnician necklaces.

- (c) A necklace composed of thirty-seven beads, chiefly of glass, though a few of them are of amber, some small charms of paste, a small, beautifully engraved glass pendant, showing a female head on both sides, possibly representing Astarte. From the Birgi necropolis.



FIG. 109.—Amulets.

- (d) A necklace of forty-six amber beads and eight glass beads, with a pendant formed by a large glass bead. From the north gate.
- (e) A chain of 176 minute glass beads, two scarabs of lapis lazuli, and a glass pendant in the shape of an oinochoe. From the north gate.
- (f) A necklace of a considerable number of minute glass beads, measuring as much as one metre in length. From the Motya necropolis.

The small glass masks which are often to be found attached as pendants to the necklaces are no doubt intended to represent deities, Baal and Astarte being the two most frequently met with.

Glass disks are also not uncommonly used as pendants.

Imitations of astragali, or knuckle-bones, in glass are occasionally to be found, and were probably used as charms.

Many of the amulets met with here are made of a hard cement or paste composition of a creamy-white colour. They are probably Egyptian or imitations of that work, the devices they bear belonging undoubtedly to Egypt. Of these, that representing the eye of Osiris is most frequently met with (fig. 109).

Many scarabs have been found in the tombs, both at Motya and at Birgi. They are of various material, such as lapis lazuli, carnelian, and other hard stone, but also of an artificially made cement. Many are perforated, and have no doubt formed part of necklaces, while others, chiefly of lapis lazuli, are found set in signet or finger rings of silver. They mostly bear hieroglyphics or other devices, generally, though not invariably, Egyptian in character.

METAL-WORK

The Phœnicians, it is well known, were great metal-workers, and past masters specially in the manufacture of ornamented metal-ware. For several centuries, probably from the ninth to the fifth century B.C., they appear to have commanded the trade in such metal-work and were without rivals, carrying their precious goods to various parts of the Mediterranean.

Homer alludes to the unrivalled beauty of a silver urn, the work of skilful Sidonian artists, which was brought to Troas by the Tyrian sailors,¹ while the numerous examples of richly wrought metal vessels of unquestionable Phœnician manufacture that have been met with in the ancient tombs of Cyprus and Sardinia,² as

¹ Homer, *Iliad*, xxiii. 865-870.

² Sardinia is undoubtedly one of the countries which have yielded a rich harvest of Phœnician and Punic relics. In addition to the fine collection of such remains preserved in the Cagliari Museum, recently reorganised under the able supervision of Professor A. Taramelli, Phœnician and Punic objects from Sardinia, and specially articles of jewellery, figure conspicuously in many of the principal museums of Europe.

also perhaps in some of those of Etruria and Latium, bear testimony, not only to the excellence of the workmanship, but also to the widely spread distribution of this product of Phœnician industrial art.¹ How many beautiful specimens of this art which figure in the museums of the present day as originating from other countries are probably, if the truth were known, the work of the Phœnician manufacturers, and how little of this exquisite work probably is still in existence compared with what is lost to us! Much may still be hidden underground and may possibly some day yet be brought to light, but much more has probably long ere this found its way to the melting-pot, or has perished ignominiously in some other way.

This, after all, is no worse than what commonly happened in Sicily up to within a few years ago, when valuable and beautiful fourteenth- and fifteenth-century brocades were destroyed for the comparatively trifling intrinsic value of the gold and silver threads contained in the work.

The designs adopted by the Phœnicians were undoubtedly taken from Egypt, as also, though perhaps in a minor degree, from Assyria; but in the actual workmanship and carrying out of the work the Phœnicians appear to have far surpassed the artists of both the above-mentioned countries. A combination or mixture of Egyptian and Assyrian art may often be observed in the designs. These, as a rule, depict some warlike or hunting scene, or rather a succession of scenes, for a complete story is often told by the engraving on a vessel, illustrating the artist's conceptions.

The execution of the work is most carefully carried out, and with a striking wealth of detail.

Little or nothing, however, of this fine metal-work has, so far, been met with at Motya, nor, for the reasons already given, does it seem probable that much, if any, of it will ever be found on

¹ Dennis, in his excellent work on the cities and cemeteries of Etruria (i. p. lxxxii) alludes to the remarkable skill of the Phœnicians as metal-workers, and to the probability of much of the finest jewellery found in Etruria and other parts of Italy having been of Phœnician workmanship.

Some silver bowls which have been found in Etruscan tombs have been regarded by Dr Helbig as Phœnician imitations of Egyptian and Assyrian work. In one case he cites the existence of a Punic inscription as having been found on a bowl (*cf.* Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, ii. 503).

the island. From what has been told us of the importance and wealth of the ancient city, it is presumable that ornamental metal vessels in considerable quantity may once have existed at Motya; but such valuable and portable articles will, without doubt, have been carried away after the capture and destruction of the town.

It is just possible that some of the tombs at Birgi, on the mainland, which have, so far, escaped discovery and violation, may yet yield a few examples, but this is extremely doubtful, and it is more probable that such specimens of metal-work, which once existed at Motya, may perhaps be met with among the Lilybæum ruins when they come to be fully explored.

Meanwhile it may be said that, although ornamented metal-work is so lacking on the island, arms and weapons of warfare are by no means wanting at Motya and Birgi, and a good many examples of them are preserved in the museum collection.

The Phœnicians, as we know, though by nature a peaceable and non-warlike people, were celebrated for the manufacture of all descriptions of arms and weapons, and a considerable portion of their production of such metal-work, like that of their ornamental vessels, will probably have been exported to their colonies, as well as to the other seaports with which they traded.

It is not surprising, therefore, that arms and weapons in certain abundance should be found at Motya, especially considering that in its later days this colony formed so important a Punic stronghold.

What strikes one as strange, however, is that so little comparatively has been discovered in Phœnicia itself of the remains of arms and weapons, for, admitting even that the bulk of this metal-work served for exportation, a certain quantity of it must surely have been required in the country itself, for the arming of the garrisons of its many towns.¹

Most of the metal-work preserved in the Motya Museum has

¹ According to Professor Orsi (*Necropoli sicula di Pozzo di Gotto*, p. 11), the ancient Sicilian cemeteries, even the later ones, are extremely deficient in arms and weapons, while, on the other hand, a necropolis at Locri, on the opposite mainland, has yielded a large quantity of spears, both of iron and of bronze. As Professor Orsi observes, however, the absence of arms and weapons in tombs, which is noticeable in the Greek tombs in Sicily, does not imply that the inhabitants were without such means of defence or offence. It is possibly due simply to the fact of it not being the custom to place such articles in the tombs.

been obtained from the tombs of the cemeteries, and comprises mainly articles of silver, bronze, iron, and lead, with a few of gold.

With the exception, however, of the arms and weapons, of which mention has just been made, the collection is not a rich one.

The gold objects that have been met with are very few, being confined to articles of jewellery, such as finger-rings, ear-rings, and pendants.

Of silver-work there is a somewhat larger collection, though this also seems to be almost entirely composed of jewellery, as will be seen from the following list of the principal articles preserved :—

- (a) A necklace composed of twenty-four small rings, with a circular pendant or medallion, which is quite plain except for a rim around it and a raised point, or stud, in the centre (fig. 110).
- (b) A necklace of eighteen similar rings, with a larger-sized ring as a pendant in the middle (fig. 110).
- (c) A necklace of eighteen beads or globules, with a small bottle-shaped pendant (fig. 110).
- (d) A necklace formed by a plain, slender bar representing a serpent, with a small cylindrical pendant.
- (e) Several rimmed disks, or medallions, with raised studs in the middle, which probably may have served as pendants.
- (f) Three large seal rings, two of them with scarabs engraved with hieroglyphs (fig. 111).
- (g) Numerous small finger-rings, some of them with scarabs, two with Phœnician characters engraved on them, and others quite plain (fig. 112).
- (h) Four bracelets, all formed of four slender bars or bangles, one placed above the other in bands.
- (i) Numerous ear-rings of the favourite fruit-basket pattern (fig. 113).
- (j) Numerous beads, buttons, and fragments of trinkets.

Bronze.—Of articles of this metal there is a fairly good collection, particularly of arms and weapons; while another, though not a



FIG. 110.—Silver necklaces.



FIG. 111.—Silver signet-rings.

very large one, comprising articles of domestic use and others for personal adornment, is fairly varied.

No hatchet-shaped razors, like those found at Carthage, as also, though more rarely, in Sardinia, have been met with at Motya.



FIG. 112.—Silver finger-ring, inscribed.



FIG. 113.—Silver earrings.

These articles, eminently Punic, were perhaps not in common use prior to the destruction of Motya.

Among the weapons there are about one hundred and thirty examples of spear- and lance-heads and several hundreds of darts and arrow-heads.

Of daggers and knives there are also a good many, and among them there are two (fig. 114) which merit special mention, as

being of a type apparently not often met with here. They seem to be identical with knives discovered by the late Professor Mosso near Phæstos,¹ as also with others found in the eneolithic tombs of Pantalica, in Eastern Sicily.² As in those examples, our Motyan specimens still show the nails by which the blades were riveted to the handles, which were presumably of wood, and are consequently no longer in existence.

The longer of the two measures 28 cm. in length and 3.25 cm. in breadth, while the other has lost its upper part, but was prob-

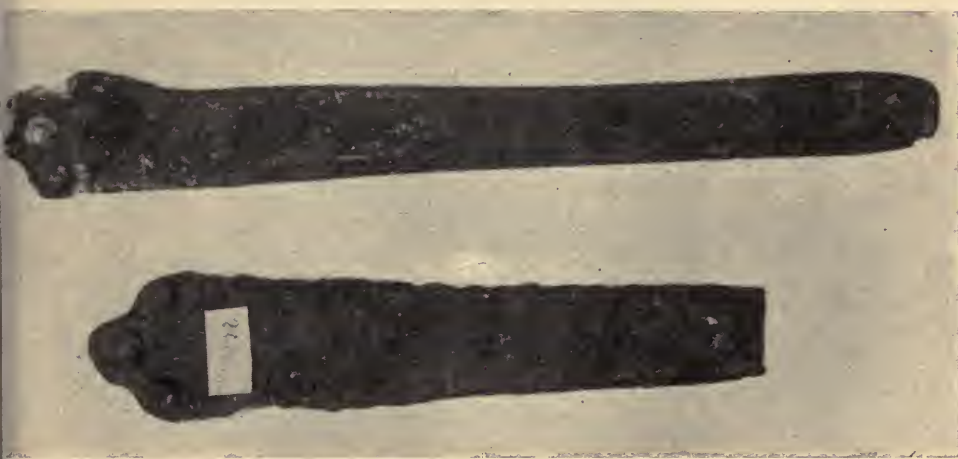


FIG. 114.—Knife-blades.

ably of equal or greater length, as it measures 4.25 cm. in breadth at its base.³

The following are the articles of domestic use and connected with personal adornment :—

- (a) A square piece, slightly concave above, measuring 10 cm. square and 2.75 cm. in depth or thickness. It was found in a socket of one of the gateways at the northern

¹ Cf. A. Mosso, *Le origini della civiltà Mediterranea-Preistoria*, ii. 237.

² Cf. P. Orsi, *Mon. Ant.*, vol. ix., Tav. vii.

³ From an analysis made of these weapons it would appear that they are composed almost wholly of copper, with but a very slight admixture of tin and traces of lead. This might lead one to think that they belong to an early period, either when the alloy first came into use and was probably being tried experimentally, or when it may even have been actually scarce.

entrance to the town, and undoubtedly served for a gate-post to revolve on.

- (b) An open cup-shaped piece, with three small holes near the rim, which was no doubt one of a pair of scales.
- (c) Two weights of an almost square shape, one weighing 22 and the other 15 grammes.
- (d) A fragment, undoubtedly part of a grater.



FIG. 115.—Emblem of Tanit.

- (e) Several fishing-hooks of various sizes.
- (f) Several long, slender pieces, probably pins and needles.
- (g) Numerous door-nails, fragments of gate-fastenings, and two keys.
- (h) Fragments of cymbals, with portions of chain still attached.
- (i) A small statuette, 9 cm. in height, possibly an idol.
- (j) Several round mirrors, chiefly fragmentary.
- (k) An amulet, representing the emblem of the goddess Tanit, 4.25 cm. in height (fig. 115).
- (l) A small cylindrical box, with cover, probably for cosmetics.

- (*m*) A ring, with the device of a Hebrew candelabrum.
- (*n*) An amulet representing the sacred or votive axe, with a small piece of metal wire still attached to it, showing that it had probably been used as a charm, suspended from the neck (fig. 116). It was found in an amphora containing cremated remains in the early necropolis at Motya.



FIG. 116.—Amulet. Sacred axe.

Iron.—The museum has a fairly large collection of iron arms and weapons, which have chiefly been obtained from the tombs of the Motya necropolis. They consist of spears or javelins and lance-heads, daggers, and knives, together with many fragments of these weapons and a single iron arrow-head.

With the exception of a peculiarly shaped piece, which may possibly have served for weaving, and numerous nails and fragments of door and furniture fastenings, there is little other ironwork which requires special mention.

A large quantity, however, of fused iron has been found in various parts of the island, bearing testimony to the great destruction by fire which must have been carried out at Motya; but it is impossible to tell from the pieces found for what purpose they may originally have served.

Lead.—Among the articles of lead preserved in the museum the following may be mentioned:—

- (*a*) The piece of piping mentioned in Part II., Chapter I.,

as having been found in the sea by the side of the causeway connecting the island with the mainland, and at some distance from either shore. This piece may not improbably have formed a part of the piping which, according to tradition, was used by the Motyans to convey fresh drinking-water from the opposite heights of Racalia. It is true the course chosen would not have been, by any means, the most direct one, but it may have been adopted as facilitating the laying down of the piping and its maintenance in good repair, traversing, as it did, the causeway instead of being under water.

For all one knows, there may perhaps have been two watercourses between Motya and the mainland, one on the north, by way of Birgi, the other on the east direct from Racalia.

This piece of piping had for several years been kept, together with other archæological objects, at the Marsala Town Hall, but has recently been deposited in the Motya Museum.

Other similar pieces appear to have been found at the same time, and passed into the hands of private individuals, but they have since disappeared. Smyth, writing in 1824, speaks of "some curious leaden pipes that communicated with the mainland, probably over the famous causeway, having been found by Prince Torremuzza." ¹

- (b) A lump of lead weighing 2800 kg., which was found among some ruins of buildings on the west side of the island. Similar and still larger pieces of unworked lead have been found from time to time by the field labourers at Motya. Some which were found forty or fifty years ago in the neighbourhood of the eastern staircase, and which are said to have had some letters and marks upon them, were taken to Marsala and sold there by weight !
- (c) Numerous sling-stones of different shapes and sizes.
- (d) A large piece in the shape of a stopper, probably of some vase.

¹ Smyth, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

- (e) Some dies for stamping terracotta, one of them with the emblem of four palm trees, a device often met with.
- (f) A fishing-net weight.
- (g) Several small boxes with covers, no doubt for holding perfumes and cosmetics, which were apparently much used by the Phœnicians themselves, and also formed an important item in their export commerce. Scylax speaks of the Phœnician traders selling perfumes to the natives of the west coast of Africa.¹

IVORY, BONE, OSTRICH EGG-SHELL, AMBER, CORAL, AND SEA-SHELLS

Ivory seems to have been greatly prized in Phœnicia for carving articles of ornament and trinkets, as well as for making caskets, tablets, and plaques. The material appears to have been imported, chiefly in its rough state, from India and the East, though a certain quantity of it was probably also obtained from the African continent, first through Egypt and later through Carthage.

In the ancient tombs of Italy and in those of the island of Sardinia numerous examples of carved ivory have been found, the greater part of which have probably been the work of Phœnician or Punic artists, and have been obtained either from Phœnicia itself or from Carthage. In this latter town ivory appears to have abounded and to have been much in request for the carving of toilet articles and other ornamental work, of which examples have been found in considerable quantity in most of the Punic cemeteries, particularly in the later ones.

A constant and regular supply of ivory was doubtless obtained in Carthage by overland routes from the interior of the African continent.

In the Motya Museum there is but little of such ivory-work. A few trinkets, amulets, and other small pieces of ornamental work have been found in some of the tombs of the Motyan cemeteries, as well as pieces of carved bone-work, such as small cylinders and

¹ Scylax, *Periplus*, 112.

rings, which have probably formed part of necklaces and other objects of female ornament, but this is all.

At Lilybæum, judging from what has already been found there, it would appear that, as in the case of the later cemeteries of Carthage, articles of ivory-work were not uncommon, as well as bone-work.

Among the bone articles which have been found at Lilybæum is an interesting *tessera hospitalis*, which is now preserved in the Palermo Museum. It was discovered in 1749, and, according to a manuscript memorandum preserved together with the *tessera*, it was found on the property of the Count Antonio Grignano, of whom mention has been made in Part II., Chapter II. This property apparently formed part of the ancient Lilybæum necropolis.

On one side this *tessera* shows two right hands clasped together, while on the back is to be found an inscription in faulty Greek, to the effect that Himilco Hannibal Cloro, son of Himilco, had made friendship with Lison, son of Diognetes, and his descendants.¹

Although numerous remains of stags' antlers have been found at Motya, and many of the small cylinders or rings into which these were sawn for ornamental purposes, no piece has yet been met with bearing any sign of engraving or any attempt at pictorial art. In addition to fragments of stags' antlers, boar tusks and the skulls and bones of small mammals are not uncommon in the tombs of the island necropolis.

The abundance of cervine remains that have been met with at Motya would lead one to suppose that venison formed an important item in the food of the inhabitants of this island. Deer, alive or dead, were probably obtained from the interior of Sicily, or were imported from Carthage, in the neighbourhood of which town these animals were apparently plentiful. The species (*C. barbarus*) is still to be met with in some of the forests of Central Tunisia, the only part of the whole of the African continent where it still survives.

Mention may here be made of two elephant tusks, in fragments, which are preserved in the museum at Motya. They were found

¹ Cf. Torremuzza, *Iscrizioni antiche di Palermo*, No. liiii., pp. 29 and 273 *seqq.*; Salinas, *Relazione R. Museo di Palermo*, 1873, p. 53.

in 1911 by some countrymen when digging holes for planting vines in a district between Ragattisi and Marausa, not far from Birgi, and apparently belong to the present-day species of African elephant (*E. africanus*), being probably relics of the Punic wars, in which these animals played an important part.

Ostrich Egg-shells.—Several fragments of such shell, decorated with a design in red paint, were found in an amphora containing cremated remains in the early necropolis at Motya, and some other fragments, together with a small piece of gold-leaf, have been found among the remains of an inhumation burial recently discovered in a spot which is shortly to be more fully explored.

At Carthage the remains of ostrich egg-shell appear to have been met with frequently, and in most of the Punic cemeteries, both the earlier and the later ones.

In Etruscan tombs ornamented ostrich eggs, with elaborately engraved designs, have been found in considerable number, and in those of Vulci terracotta imitations of the eggs have also been met with.¹

Amber.—As already mentioned when speaking of glass-bead ornaments, necklaces composed in part of beads and small chips, or flakes, of amber, pierced with holes for suspension, are preserved in the museum. These were found in sarcophagi, containing inhumated remains, near the north gateway, which, as already mentioned, no doubt belong to a late period of Motya's history.

Amber is commonly met with in the tombs of Etruria and Latium, as well as in those of Tharros, in Sardinia; and one may venture to think that the Phœnician merchants traded in this article in the course of their journeys to the northern and western countries which they visited. Amber, in small quantity, is said to be found at the mouth of the river Simeto in Sicily.

Coral.—Although no worked coral has, so far, been met with at Motya, with the exception of a small charm found in a tomb of the early necropolis and a solitary bead picked up on the

¹ Dennis, *op. cit.*, i. 223 and 457.

sea-shore, a certain quantity of unworked coral, in its natural state, has been found among some ruins of buildings on the west side of the island, from which fact it is not unreasonable to surmise that the manufacture of coral ornaments, or other objects, may have existed at Motya. This is quite possible, not to say probable, considering the close vicinity of coral banks on the Sicilian coast near Sciacca.

Coral-work, though not common, seems to have been met with in some of the cemeteries at Carthage, and in the Bible we read of it as being among the products of Phœnicia.¹

Sea-shells.—A considerable number of sea-shells, including several of the genus *Pectunculus*, have been found in the tombs of the early necropolis at Motya. Some are perforated by a hole at the base of the shell, but whether artificially, or naturally by gradual friction and wearing away of this projecting part, it is not easy to say.

There can be little doubt that these shells, examples of which are to be found in many ancient cemeteries and other sacred sites, were, at a very early period, associated with religious observances and served some religious purpose, possibly that of *ex voto* offerings.²

Whether, as thought by some authorities, and as, at first sight, seems not unlikely, these shells came to be used, later on, as ornaments for personal adornment, is doubtful. Against the theory are two arguments, one being that many of the shells found in tombs are unperforated and could not, therefore, have been suspended in necklaces; the other, that the shells, apart from the fact of not being particularly ornamental in themselves, are not met with, in any single tomb, in such numbers as to lead one to think they could have been employed as were glass beads and other similar objects usually composing necklaces.

That the perforated shells may have formed part of necklaces, not as ornaments but as charms or talismans, is, however, quite likely, as it is also possible that these shells generally, whether pierced or unpierced, may have continued, even in later times, to be regarded with religious sentiment.

¹ Ezekiel xxvii. 16.

² Cf. A. Mosso, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

COINS IN THE MOTYA MUSEUM

GOLD

- No. 1. *Carthage* (264-241 B.C.).
 Obv. : Head of Persephone, to left.
 Rev. : Standing horse, to right.
 Weight : 116.9 grs.
- No. 2. *Carthage* (264-241 B.C.).
 Obv. : Head of Persephone, to left.
 Rev. : Horse standing, to right, with its head looking back.
 Weight : 23 grs.
- No. 3. *Theodosius II.* (A.D. 408-450).
 Obv. : Emperor's head, with following characters : ON THEO-
 DOSIUS PF AUG.
 Rev. : Helmeted figure seated, with following : VOTXXX
 MULTXXXXX. In *exergue* CONOBH.
- No. 4. *Zeno* (A.D. 474-491).
 Obv. : A full-face head, with following : DN ZENO PERP AUG.
 Rev. : A winged figure of Victory, to left, staff in right hand,
 with following : VICTOR AUGGG. In *exergue*
 CONOB.

SILVER

- No. 1. *Acragas* (415-406 B.C.).
 Obv. : Eagle and hare.
 Rev. : Crab and fish.
- Nos. 2 and 3. *Motya* (420-397 B.C.).
 Obv. : Gorgon's head.
 Rev. : A palm tree.
- No. 4. *Motya*.
 Obv. : Full-face head.
 Rev. : Crab.
- No. 5. *Motya*.
 Obv. : Female head, three-quarters face.
 Rev. : Ear of corn, with four dots, one in each corner.
 Weight : 3.9 grs.
N.B.—According to the late Professor Salinas, no similar example
 has previously been recorded.
- Nos. 6-8. *Selinus*.
 Obv. : A parsley leaf (*selinon*).
 Rev. : An incuse square.
- No. 9. *Segesta*.
 Obv. : Female head, to right.
 Rev. : Dog standing, to left.

- No. 10. *Segesta.*
Obv. : Male head, to right.
Rev. : Dog running, to right.
- No. 11. *Segesta.*
Obv. : Female head, to right, with following : ΣTAC.
Rev. : Dog standing, with head down, to right.
- No. 12. *Segesta.*
Obv. : A head, within a circle, to right.
Rev. : A dog standing, to left.
- No. 13. *Athens.*
Obv. : Head of Athena, to right.
Rev. : An owl, to right, with letters as follows : AΘE
- No. 14. *Athens.*
Obv. : Head of Athena, helmeted, with three olive leaves erect ; hair in bands across forehead and showing below helmet.
Rev. : An owl within incuse square, spray and crescent moon, with letters AΘE.
- No. 15. *Gela* (430-405 B.C.).
Obv. : A horse standing, to right.
Rev. : The fore part of a bull, to right, with inscription [Γ]ΕΛΑ.
- No. 16. *Eryx.*
Obv. : Aphrodite.
Rev. : A hound.
- No. 17. *Syracuse* (540-400 B.C.).
Obv. : Female head.
Rev. : Chariots.
- No. 18. *Carthage.*
Obv. : Head of Persephone, to left.
Rev. : Horse, with head turned back.
- No. 19. *Eubœa.*
Obv. : Gorgoneion.
Rev. : Head of bull in incuse square.
- No. 20. *Corinth* (fourth century B.C.).
Obv. : Helmeted head, to left, with letter A and a bee in field.
Rev. : Pegasus, to left.
- No. 21. *Syracuse.*
Obv. : Head of nymph, to right.
Rev. : Chariot and horses moving slowly to right.
- No. 22. *Leontinoi.*
Obv. : Head of Apollo.
Rev. : Lion's head, between four ears of corn.
- No. 23. *Selinus.*
Obv. : Artemis and Apollo in chariot.
Rev. : A nymph sacrificing.

- No. 24. *Messana.*
 Obv. : A hare running to right, with following inscription :
 MESSENION (the Ionian spelling).
 Rev. : A racing car, drawn by mules, moving to right.
- No. 25. *Roman Republic.*
 Obv. : Head of Roma ; behind it, letters GEM.
 Rev. : A quadriga, to right ; below the horses, the letters M/BRI.
 In *exergue* ROMA.
- No. 26. *Syracuse.*
 Obv. : Female head, to right.
 Rev. : A chariot and horses.
- No. 27. *Roman Republic (c. 93 B.C.).*
 Obv. : Head of Roma.
 Rev. : A sacrifice.
- No. 28. *Syracuse.*
 Obv. : Head of nymph.
- No. 29. *Selinus.*
 Obv. : A bull standing, to right.
 Rev. : A female figure seated, to left, holding a snake in right hand.

BRONZE

- Nos. 1-8. *Motya.*
 Obv. : Gorgon, full face, and three disks below it.
 Rev. : A palm tree.
- No. 9. *Acragas (previous to 406 B.C.).*
 Obv. : Eagle with outspread wings, to right, with a fish below.
 Rev. : A crab.
- No. 10. *Acragas (previous to 406 B.C.).*
 Obv. : Eagle with closed wings, to left, and a fish below.
 Rev. : A crab.
- No. 11. *Himera (previous to 413 B.C.).*
 Obv. : Gorgoneion.
 Rev. : Three dots in a triangle.
- No. 12. *Segesta.*
 Obv. : Female head to right, with fish in field.
 Rev. : A dog to right.
- Nos. 13-20. *Motya ?*
 Obv. : A female full face (nymph).
 Rev. : A male head, to right.
- No. 21. *Motya ?*
 Obv. : Ivy leaf.
 Rev. : Free horse, to right.

- No. 22. *Siculo-Punic.*
Obv. : A horse, to left.
Rev. : A palm tree.
- No. 23. *Acragas.*
Obv. : A male head, possibly that of Zeus.
Rev. : A bird, probably an eagle, standing erect, with outstretched wings.
- No. 24. *Haluntium* (500-400 B.C.).
Obv. : A helmeted head, to left, with a star and dot in field
Rev. : A squid, and inscription AAONTINON.
- Nos. 25-32. *Syracuse.*
Obv. : A head to right.
Rev. : A squid.
- No. 33. *Syracuse* (275-216 B.C.).
Obv. : Hiero II.
Rev. : An armed horseman on a charger.
- No. 34. *Syracuse* (345-317 B.C.).
Obv. : Helmeted head of Pallas, to left.
Rev. : Star between two dolphins.
- No. 35. *Syracuse.*
Obv. : Head of Zeus, with three disks on right hand.
Rev. : A thunderbolt, with three disks on left hand.
- Nos. 36-43. *Syracuse* (about 400 B.C.).
Obv. : Head of Pallas, with Corinthian helmet.
Rev. : A sea-horse.
- No. 44. *Messana* (Mamertini).
Obv. : Head of Zeus.
Rev. : A warrior, with bow and arrow; inscription: MAMERTIN 2.
- No. 45. *Messana* (Mamertini).
Obv. : Head of Apollo.
Rev. : A warrior standing, with inscription MAM.
- No. 46. *Roman Republic.*
Obv. : A head, with four dots behind it.
Rev. : Indistinct, with exception of four dots and inscription ROMA.
- No. 47. *Segesta* (previous to 449 B.C.).
Obv. : Head of Segesta, a triangle behind it.
Rev. : A dog standing, to right, with small circles above and below, and a small plant in front.
- No. 48. *Roman.*
Obv. : Head, to right, and inscription ALTI.
Rev. : Three-legged symbol, or *triskeles*.

- No. 49. *Messana*.
Obv. : Head, to left.
Rev. : Man, with horse, to left, and II in field.
- Nos. 50-53. *Acragas*.
Obv. : An eagle, with outspread wings.
Rev. : A crab.
- Nos. 54-55. *Acragas*.
Similar to preceding, but smaller.
- No. 56. *Eryx*.
Obv. : Seated female figure, with extended arm.
Rev. : A dog, to right.
- No. 57. *Neapolis*.
Obv. : A head, to left.
Rev. : A bull, to right, with figure of Victory flying above.
- No. 58. *Lipari*.
Obv. : Seated figure, to right.
Rev. : Six dots in centre, with inscription AIIAPION.
- No. 59. *Byzantine*.
Obv. : Frontal head and cross.
Rev. : XXE.
- Nos. 60-68. *Siculo-Punic* (430-360 B.C.).
Obv. : Persephone head, to left.
Rev. : A free horse, to left.
- No. 69. *Siculo-Punic*.
As above, but smaller.
- No. 70. *Himera ?*
Obv. : Female figure standing, to left.
Rev. : A boar running ; ivy leaf below.
- No. 71. *Lilybæum* (Roman period).
Obv. : Head of Apollo, to left, with a border of dots.
Rev. : A tripod and border of dots.
- Nos. 72-78. *Carthage*.
Obv. : Persephone head, to left.
Rev. : Horse's head and neck, to right (protome).
- No. 79. *Carthage*.
Obv. : Persephone head, to left.
Rev. : A horse standing, to left.
- Nos. 80-85. *Carthage*.
Obv. : Persephone head, to left.
Rev. : A horse standing, to right, with a palm tree behind.
- Nos. 86-88. *Carthage*.
Obv. : A palm tree.
Rev. : A Pegasus, to left.

- Nos. 89-94. *Carthage*.
Obv. : A palm tree.
Rev. : Protome of horse, to right.
- Nos. 95-98. *Motya* (461-430 B.C.).
Obv. : A female head, full face.
Rev. : A crab.
- Nos. 99-101. *Motya* (430-397 B.C.).
Obv. : Gorgon's head, full face.
Rev. : A palm tree.
- No. 102. *Syracuse* (430-360 B.C.).
Obv. : A full face.
Rev. : A head, to right.
- No. 103. *Motya* (430-397 B.C.).
Obv. : Female head, to right.
Rev. : A crab.

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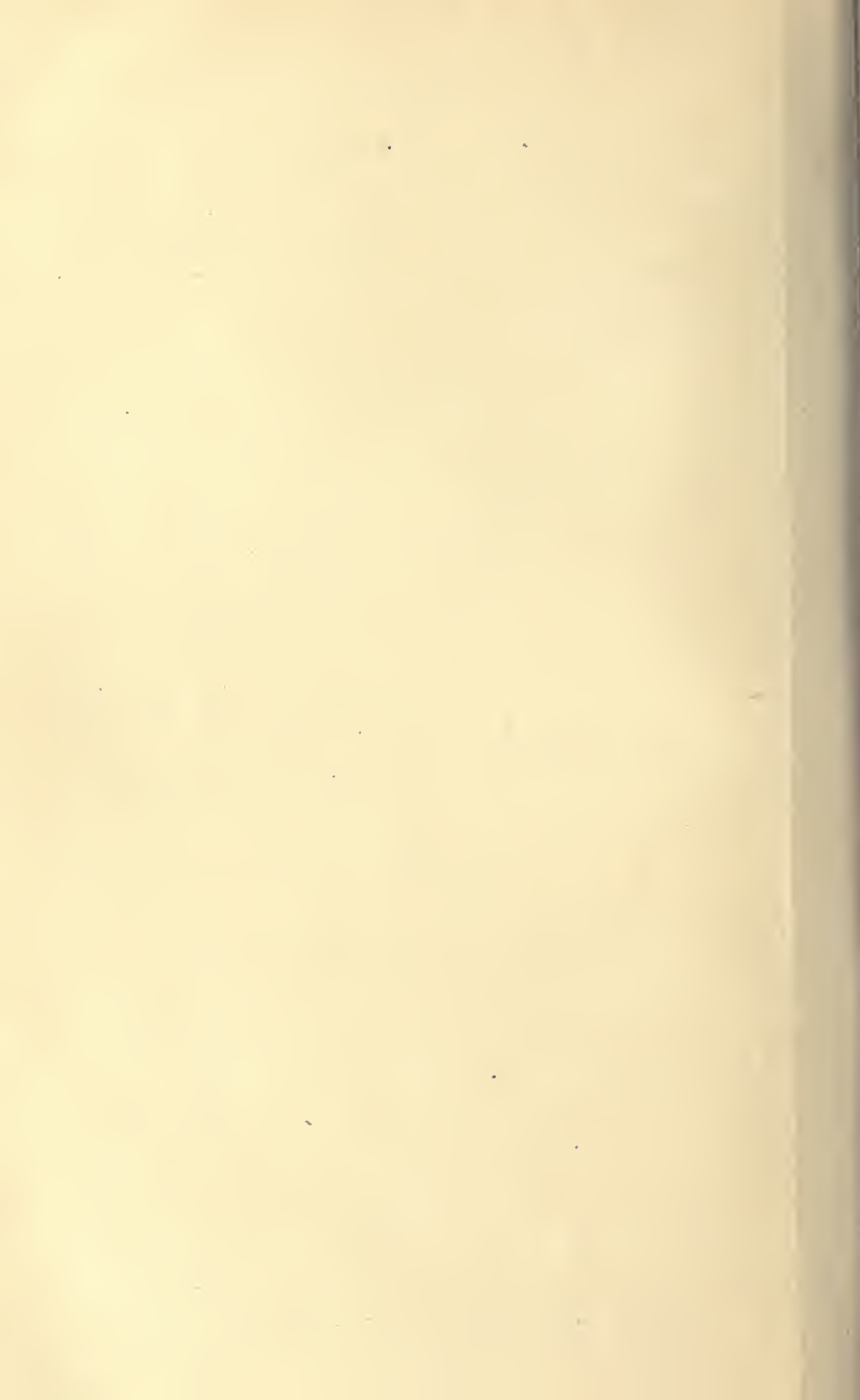
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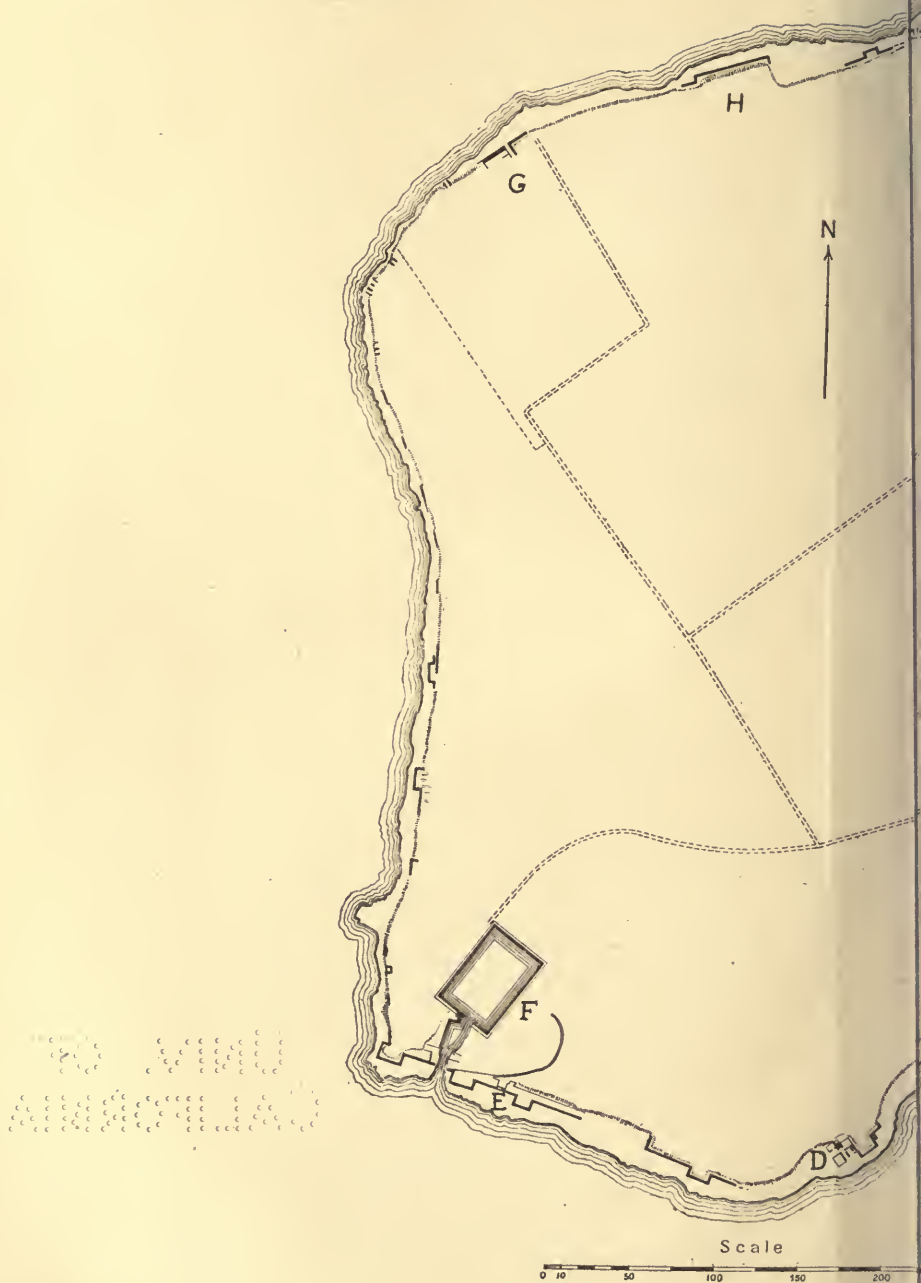
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MAP
OF
MOTYA.
Showing its principal ruins





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 B. SMALL GATEWAY
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 D. SOUTH EASTERN STAIRCASE
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